

FRANCIS T. KING AND THE BALTIMORE ASSOCIATION TO ADVISE AND
ASSIST FRIENDS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES

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ABSTRACT

Francis T. King (1819-1891), was a Quaker, a philanthropist and respectable businessman, and mercantile. The Baltimore Association to Advise and Assist Friends in the Southern States (1865-1885) helped rebuild North Carolina. This dissertation examines King's life and shows how Francis King and The Association's primary goal was to rebuild the education system within North Carolina for Quakers, also rebuilding New Garden Boarding School (1837-1888), which became Guilford College in 1888. In addition, King and The Association rebuilt an agricultural system in North Carolina, which caught on throughout the Southern States. The dissertation outlines how the Association facilitated the creation of Normal Schools, during the American Reconstruction period (1865-1877, post-American Civil War) at a time when the social structures changed in North Carolina and the Southern States with blacks being released from slavery and attempting to secure equality with the white public. The broader white non-Quaker society also established two separate societies and school systems, one for blacks and one for white. Also, the system of agriculture went from slave labor to a new system of slavery known as sharecropping, which exploited both blacks and whites. The dissertation argues that King's work is undervalued and under-represented in previous scholarship.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Introduction

Francis T. King (1819-1891) was a Quaker, a philanthropist, and respectable businessman. King and The Baltimore Association to Advise and Assist Friends in the Southern States (1865-1885)¹ helped rebuild North Carolina.

Francis King and The Association's principal goal was to rebuild the education system in North Carolina. Francis T. King and The Association did this for Quakers with rebuilding New Garden Boarding School (1837-1888) (which changed its name Guilford College in 1888).

King also created Normal Schools, during the American Reconstruction period (1865-1877) post-American Civil War. During the Reconstruction period, the social structures changed with enslaved blacks becoming freed people and seeking equality with the white non-Quaker public. The broader white non-Quaker populace established two separate and school systems, one for blacks and one for whites.

Francis T. King's work during the American Reconstruction period was from 1865-1870. However, the whole reconstruction lasted for seven more years after King stopped his work in North Carolina.

This dissertation explores King's life and work and also explores the demographics and changes within the social realm, which created a new form of slavery, 'sharecropping,' in which

¹ Another named for The Baltimore Association to Advise and Assist Friends in the Southern States is "The Association" (*Francis T. King His Life and Work*. 7. Francis T. King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.).

both blacks and poor non-Quakers were subject.. At this time, there was a significant upheaval in the political realm, with the politicians trying to figure out how to best rebuild America after the Civil War, which created turmoil after the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, an event which threw Andrew Johnson into the forefront of making the major decisions over Reconstruction. There will be an examination on both the laws Lincoln passed and the shortcomings of Andrew Johnson, which may have hindered Johnson fulfilling his duties as the new President of America during the significant part of the Reconstruction period.

King was not a person to sit down and write down his works. This type of action was to show not tell. He used the work he did with The Association to show people how he helped rebuild the Quaker community and white and black non-Quaker people within North Carolina.

It was Baltimore Meeting, New Garden Meeting, other Quaker meetings in North Carolina, and the local newspapers in both Baltimore, Maryland and in North Carolina that wrote about King. King himself never wrote about his works. The only time he wrote about himself was in his memoir entitled '*Francis T. King Reminiscences*.' This thesis attempts to address the lack of previous scholarship on King's life.

1.2. A Brief Biography

As a child, Francis Thompson King (1819-1891)² had the Quaker values of community, integrity, anti-war, and simplicity that were instilled in him by his parents and the Baltimore Friends.³

King was born 25 February 1819, in Baltimore. Francis T. King was the oldest of five children; his siblings were Thomas, Mary Ellicott, Joseph, and Elias.⁴ His father was an Englishman named Joseph King Jr. who had come to America and settled in Baltimore in 1819. He worked as a shipping merchant until 1831. Joseph King Jr. never had a business partner and was good with money. He gave money to causes when he felt their purpose was good. Joseph King Jr. retired early from his business career after acquiring enough money to sustain and take care of his family. For the last 30 years of Joseph King Jr.'s life, he gave his life to the church and gave generously to educational work.⁵

Within his *Reminiscences*, King speaks of how he learned to save money through his parents who were both excellent at managing money. King started saving early in life due to the example his parents set which made it possible to help others.⁶

² Rufus M. Jones. *The Later Periods of Quakers*. Vol. II. London: MacMillan and Co., 1921. 695.

³ Michael L. Birkel. *Silence And Witness The Quaker Tradition Traditions of Christian Spirituality Series*. New York: Orbis Books, 1985. 106. *Francis Thomson King His Life and Work*. 1. Francis T King file (unpublished) located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A. Francis T. King file (unpublished).

⁴ Ellicott-King Papers Ms. 161 located in The Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University.

⁵ *Francis T. King Reminiscences* Ms. 322. 1-2., located Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The John Hopkins University.

⁶ "I began to save my money very early in life." *Francis T. King Reminiscences* Ms. 322. 1., located Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The John Hopkins University.

King's mother was Tacey⁷ Ellicott King (1795-1872)⁸, the daughter of Elias Ellicott and Mary Thomas. Tacey was born in 1795 in Baltimore Maryland.⁹ In 1772 the Ellicott family established their home on the Patapsco River, which is now known as Ellicott City. The Ellicott's are considered the founders of Ellicott City.¹⁰ The Ellicott family had a milling business. Their main interest was the development of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Tacey Ellicott King died in 1872.¹¹

As King reflects back on his lineage, he states that his father's side of the family derived from a long line of Christians and Friends (Quakers). One of his great-grandparents was an Elder within the Friends society, and another ancestor was a respected Minister in the Society of Friends.¹² Some family members on his mother's side also resided in Maryland and were members of the Society of Friends.¹³

⁷ Within the John Hopkins University – Milton S. Eisenhower Library of the Ellicott-King Collection description found online Francis T. King's mother's name is spelled "Tacy". Although within the primary document A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A. King's mother name is spelled "Tacey" (Ellicott-King Papers Ms. 161 located in The Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University and A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.).

⁸ Ellicott-King Papers Ms. 161 located in The Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University.

⁹ A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 2. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A. and Ellicott-King Papers Ms. 161 located in The Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University.

¹⁰ Ellicott-King Papers Ms. 161 located in The Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University.

¹¹ B&O stands for Baltimore and Ohio Railroad (David Shackelford., *The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad in Maryland*. Charleston, Arcadia Publishing, 2014. 7.)

¹² A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 3. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

¹³ A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 3. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

Rufus M. Jones, in his *The Later Periods of Quakerism*. Vol. II, states that King's education began at Haverford College,¹⁴ but King himself speaks about going to St. Mary's School two years before attending Haverford College: "I went there [Haverford College] from St. Mary's and was one of the 21 boys who opened the school."¹⁵ Jones does not mention King's education before Haverford College. King's lineage was deeply rooted in Orthodox¹⁶ Quakerism. Most of his family on both sides were from the east coast of America. King's ancestors made their home first in England, then in the new English Colonies of America, and maybe, through his mother, even in the first Quaker Colony, Pennsylvania, founded by William Penn in 1681.¹⁷ This ancestry illustrates that the core values of Quakerism were a profound, driving force from his forefathers, who passed these values down to King.¹⁸

His mother strongly influenced King as a young child, and he often accompanied her when she went to help those in need. In fact, neither his father nor his mother ever turned a Friend away for any reason. Instead, they welcomed them into their home.¹⁹ The actions of his parents towards Friends was King's first view of charity. His mother's acts of kindness throughout the city of Baltimore and his parents' welcoming Friends had a lasting influence on King throughout his lifetime.²⁰

¹⁴ Rufus M. Jones. *The Later Periods of Quakers*. Vol. II. London: MacMillan and Co., 1921. 695.

¹⁵ Francis King. *Francis King Reminiscences* Ms. 322. 5., located Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The John Hopkins University.

¹⁶ Thomas D. Hamm. *The Quakers In America*. United States of America: Columbia University Press, 2003. 18.

¹⁷ "Timeline," Special Collections from Bryn Mawr, Haverford, and Swarthmore Colleges.

¹⁸ A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 1-2. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

¹⁹ Francis King. *Francis King Reminiscences* Ms. 322. 1-2., located Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The John Hopkins University.

²⁰ A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore

Within King's *Reminiscences*, he recounts how his mother showed compassion to a poor child, who was trying to obtain a cup of wine for her ill mother.²¹ King's mother, Tacey Ellicott King, had the servant bring the child into the sitting room. Tacey listened to the small girl's story about her ill mother. Then she had her servant fetch the street lantern and Francis, the servant, and she followed the girl to where her family was dwelling. The girl had four other siblings, and her mother was ill, and their father did not have a job. King and his mother learned that the family was an English family, who had just recently immigrated to the area of Baltimore. The family did not have any friends in this new area, had no income, and the money they brought with them had been spent. King and the servant were sent back to the house to fetch hot soup and other food.²² This is just one account where King witnesses and documents the kindness and integrity of his parents'.

Quakers greatly valued education, therefore, King's parents, were well-educated and saw the importance of education.²³ Education was a valuable asset and a foundation that helped guide King's career path. He attended St. Mary's College for two years,²⁴ then attended Haverford College, where he was in the first graduating class.²⁵ Afterward, he spent time helping the faculty

Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 1-5. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

²¹Francis King. *Francis King Reminiscences* Ms. 322. 2., located Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The John Hopkins University.

²²Francis King. *Francis King Reminiscences* Ms. 322. 3., located Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The John Hopkins University.

²³ A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 3. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.).

²⁴ A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 3. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.).

²⁵ King was later first president of the board of trustees of Bryn Mawr College (1885-1891), which was founded to offer women the opportunity for higher education. King worked in tandem with the trustees, the new institution, and the Society of Friends to help ensure the dreams of its founder, Dr Joseph Wright Taylor, would be fulfilled. King's involvement with these schools demonstrates how much he valued good education. (A Short Account of The Life of

and students of Haverford College,²⁶ while he was living in the city for a short time. King made strong bonds at Haverford and even became a trustee (1860-1863).²⁷ He gave much support and money to help the school provide their students with a good education.²⁸

King worked in business from 1842 to 1856,²⁹ after being a mercantile³⁰ trader for many years. He married Elizabeth Taber in 1846.³¹ They had three daughters,³² and after her death in 1856,³³ King never remarried.³⁴

Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 3. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.).

²⁶ Haverford College is a Quaker founded college founded in on 28 October 1833 (Diana F. Peterson, *Haverford College. Founded by Friends*. Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, INC., 2007. 1).

²⁷ Allen C. Thomas. *Biographical catalogue of the matriculates of Haverford. Haverford College. Alumni Association*, Philadelphia: Haverford Committee of the Alumni Association, 1900. 102.

²⁸ Francis T. King held education in high standers, whilst making sure his own three daughters were well educated (Mary E. Garrett, "The "Friday Evening" Group." The Alan Mason Chesney Medical Archives of The Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions).

²⁹ A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 4. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.).

³⁰ A mercantile is related to merchants or trading; buying and selling products: related to trade or merchants (Webster's dictionary, 2016).

³¹ A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 5. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.).

³² Francis King's daughters names were Mary 'Bessie,' (Mary King Carey) Ann, and Elizabeth (Elizabeth King Ellicott) (Mary E. Garrett, "The "Friday Evening" Group." The Alan Mason Chesney Medical Archives of The Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions).

³³ A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 5. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.).

³⁴ A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 5. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.).

King amassed a considerable amount of wealth,³⁵ mainly from his investments in the B&O railroad, and retired at the age of 42,³⁶ in 1860.³⁷ He believed that engaging in business affairs would interfere with his true calling – helping people and working with the Church.³⁸ After King retired, he focused his attention on the Quaker community, working with Baltimore Yearly Meeting and others, to improve the well-being of the attendees.³⁹

King also had a more comprehensive spiritual upbringing through the Baltimore Meeting,⁴⁰ an unprogrammed⁴¹ meeting where Friends would sit in silence and wait for the spirit to speak to their souls. Some people felt ‘led’ during the meeting to stand and speak breaking the silence.

³⁵ *Francis Thompson King His Life and Works*. 1. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

³⁶ *Francis Thompson King His Life and Works*. 6. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

³⁷ *Francis Thompson King His Life and Works*. 7. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

³⁸ A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 6. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

³⁹ A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 6. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

⁴⁰ Francis T. King was a member of Homewood Baltimore Meeting (Francis King. *Francis King Reminiscences* Ms. 322. 3. located Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The John Hopkins University).

⁴¹ Unprogrammed meeting is the traditional meeting of worship where everyone sits in silence and waits for the Inward Light to guide them. The Inward Light may move one to stand and speak, out of the silence, giving a message to the community (Thomas D. Hamm. *The Quakers In America*. United States of America: Columbia University Press, 2003.18).

Allen Jay, a Quaker minister during this time, remembered from his childhood that months could go by without any word spoken in Meeting.⁴² King grew up in this traditional style of worship.⁴³

Within King's *Reminiscences*, he speaks about how the silence affected him. He wrote that after the people attending the meeting settled into silence, he felt that he was in the presence of the Lord. His body trembled from his head to his feet and his heart was filled with God's love. As he sat in silent worship, the Lord spoke through the silence, comforting and pardoning to his soul. After the meeting, he was a changed and new man. "I soon felt the presence and honor of the Lord."⁴⁴

When King came of age in 1837, he began working at Plummer & King, a Hardware Importing house. He was only a member of this firm for three years and then withdrew his partnership.⁴⁵

In 1838 or 1839, at the age of nineteen, King met Joseph John Gurney, an eminent traveling minister from England⁴⁶ when he was a guest of Joseph King Jr. King was asked to show Gurney around the Baltimore Yearly Meeting. Gurney influenced King so deeply that King planned his own life around his teachings.⁴⁷

⁴² Allen Jay (1831-1910) was a Quaker minister, who lived during the nineteenth century and was part of the "Great Migration," where American Friends went from the South to the Ohio Valley (Allen Jay. *Autobiography of Allen Jay (1831-1910)*. Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 2010.23-24, 118).

⁴³ Margery P. Abbott, Mary E. Chijioke, Pink Dandelion, and John W. Oliver Jr. *Historical Dictionary of the Friends (Quakers)*. Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2012. 155. Add more about Gurney

⁴⁴ Francis King. *Francis T. King Reminiscences* Ms. 322. 12., located Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The John Hopkins University.

⁴⁵ Francis King. *Francis T. King Reminiscences* Ms. 322. 9., located Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The John Hopkins University.

⁴⁶ A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 5. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A. Gurney's life and thought is explored more fully in 2.1.5 below.

⁴⁷ *Francis Thomson King His Life and Work*. 3. Francis T King file (unpublished) located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A. Francis T. King file (unpublished).

King speaks a great deal about when he met Joseph John Gurney in his *Reminiscences*.⁴⁸ King claims that he was attracted to Gurney by his personality. “His strong, beautiful life attracted me to him at once and most kindly made a companion of me, and I made myself useful to him in many ways, often taking long walks within him when he needed exercise.”⁴⁹

King also helped Gurney while he was staying at his parents’ home and visiting Baltimore Friends. King’s life was changing and as he states himself, “Here was a man of great wealth, learning and social positions of fine commanding presence and strong character, who was loving, self-denying, seeking not his own, but the good of others.”⁵⁰

When it was time for Gurney to leave, Gurney asked King to accompany him to Virginia to visit Friends there. King gladly accepted. King gives an account of his journey with Gurney that includes Virginia and Harpers Ferry, West Virginia where King first heard Gurney preach. After King and Gurney returned to Baltimore, Gurney left for Philadelphia. Nevertheless, the visit from Joseph John Gurney had a significant impact on King, which he would keep within him for the

⁴⁸ “I was gently drawn from the fashionable life upon which I had entered this family associations and found myself interested in the religious work and life of [I.I.G.] At the closer of his visit...” “I desired was to be in I.I. G’s company and sit under his ministry again.” (Francis King. *Francis T. King Reminiscences* Ms. 322. 10-11, located Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The John Hopkins University). Within Joseph John Gurney’s *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney with Selection from his Journals Correspondence* one will see throughout his letters to Friends use his initials J. J. Gurney. Another thing to note about when King wrote about Gurney was that he only used Joseph John Gurney’s initials [I.I.G.], which within the document is a typo. James Stimpert, Senior Reference Archivist from Johns Hopkins University Special Collections states that the corrections are penciled into the transcript from [I.I.G.] to [J.J.G] (Joseph J. Gurney, “Gurney’s Journals and Correspondence.” In *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney with Selection from his Journals Correspondence*, edited by Joseph B. Braithwaite, Los Angeles: The Library of The University of California, 2008. 158).

⁴⁹ Francis King. *Francis T. King Reminiscences* Ms. 322. 10., located Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The John Hopkins University.

⁵⁰ Francis King. *Francis T. King Reminiscences* Ms. 322. 12., located Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The John Hopkins University.

rest of his life: “I daily pondered over the new life that was opening before me and did not speak of my feeling to anyone.”⁵¹

Indeed, almost immediately King told his father he wanted to go to Philadelphia to be around Gurney. “My desire was to be in I.I.G’s [J.J.G.] company and sit under his ministry again.”⁵² King left his home after his father gave him his blessing and reached Philadelphia on seventh day [Saturday] evening. The next morning after breakfast, King went to the Inn where Gurney was staying. After inquiring where Gurney was, he found him in the large garden. When Gurney realized King was there, he says, “My dear Francis, what brought thee here.” King replied: “I have been walking this land bearing thee on my heart.”⁵³

Gurney’s had a vital influence on how King formed his life. For example, the memorial prepared by Baltimore Friends after King’s death talked of King forming his life around Gurney’s teaching. I believe that Gurney should get more significant credit for his influence in King’s own spiritual life.

Another critical influence on lived was his financial success learned from his father, Joseph King Jr. Subsequently, King’s father showed him how to run a business without having a partner. Francis King followed in his father’s footsteps and retired early and helped others by any means possible.

Francis King would eventually help rebuild North Carolina post-American Civil War. He would help establish a new agriculture system that involved crop rotation. He helped the Quakers rebuild their communities beginning with New Garden Boarding School. King and other Quakers

⁵¹ Francis King. *Francis T. King Reminiscences* Ms. 322. 11., located Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The John Hopkins University.

⁵² Francis King. *Francis T. King Reminiscences* Ms. 322. 11., located Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The John Hopkins University.

⁵³ Francis King. *Francis T. King Reminiscences* Ms. 322. 11., located Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The John Hopkins University.

reestablished a public school system for the extensive white non-Quaker group and King would create Normal Schools for the newly freed blacks based on that model. Lastly, he helped found Guilford College, a small liberal arts college for both Quakers and non-Quakers, that is still in existence to this day.

The accounts of Francis King's contributions along with The Association's come from the people of North Carolina, who knew King. He did not profess his acts but lived as an example. Scholars have come to understand who King was through these accounts. For example, people said that on the last day of meeting before King died, he delivered a light-hearted, upbeat message, and he asked God to bless the people.⁵⁴

In January 1892,⁵⁵ Dr. Nereus Mendenhall wrote an article in *The Guilford Collegian*, honoring King's work with the New Garden Quakers. Mendenhall recaps King's birth and early life, then states that he considers King one of the founders of Guilford College. Mendenhall says that, if it were not for King and the Association, the Carolina Quakers and Guilford College would not be in existence.⁵⁶ Mendenhall's tone in this article was of great reverence and humility.

Years later, Mendenhall's daughter, Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, wrote more about her memories of King, rather than recounting his biography. In March of 1908,⁵⁷ Mary Mendenhall Hobbs wrote an article in *The Guilford Collegian* thanking Francis T. King for his work to help

⁵⁴ A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 20- 21. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

⁵⁵ Nereus Mendenhall. "Francis T. King." *The Guilford Collegian*, New Garden: Literary Societies of Guilford College. January 1892. 107.

⁵⁶After the first King Hall burnt down in 1885, King gave Guilford \$500 to rebuild King Hall (Nereus Mendenhall. "Francis T. King." *The Guilford Collegian*, New Garden: Literary Societies of Guilford College January 1892, 108.

⁵⁷ Mary M. Hobbs. "Francis T. King." *The Guilford Collegian*, New Garden: Literary Societies of Guilford College, March 1908, 145-152.

rebuild New Garden Boarding School⁵⁸ and his role in helping transform New Garden Boarding School into Guilford College.⁵⁹ She remembers that, after the transition of the boarding school to a college, there was a debate about naming the new college “King College.”⁶⁰ Hobbs also states that her father attended Haverford College at the same time as King,⁶¹ and she remembered King as a happy person, who gave his wealth to anyone who needed help.⁶²

Hobbs’ tone is upbeat and light-hearted, going back to her first memories of King when she was a 10-year-old child. She says that King gave both schools money, first to New Garden Boarding School to help rebuild Founders Hall and get new supplies for the children. He then gave money to Guilford College to help them build new buildings, get new supplies, and attract new students.⁶³ Both Hobbs and her father wrote about King which was published in the college newspaper *The Guilford Collegian*.⁶⁴ In addition, state and international newspapers reported on King’s work with The Association.

⁵⁸When New Garden Boarding School was formulation, there was no known schooling under the care of North Carolina Yearly Meeting. Although, North Carolina Eastern Quarterly Meeting had created Belvidere Academy in 1835 (Rufus M. Jones. *The Later Periods of Quakerism*. Vol. II. London: MacMillan and Co., 1921. 694).

⁵⁹Mary M. Hobbs. "Francis T. King." *The Guilford Collegian*, New Garden: Literary Societies of Guilford College, March 1908, 145-152.

⁶⁰ Mary Mendenhall Hobbs believed that if a college was to be named after Francis T. King, that he was not just a normal person, who helped rebuild the school and help turn the school into a college. She believed that he was one of the founders of the school (Mary M. Hobbs, "Francis T. King." *The Guilford Collegian*, New Garden: Literary Societies of Guilford College, March 1908, 145).

⁶¹Mary also accounts that after Francis T. King started the Baltimore Association to Advise and Assist the Southern Friends, King came down to North Carolina and stayed in her parent’s house with them. She remembered listening to King speak of his concern about North Carolina Yearly Meeting and New Garden Boarding School (Mary M. Hobbs, "Francis T. King." *The Guilford Collegian*, New Garden: Literary Societies of Guilford College, March 1908, 146).

⁶² Mary M. Hobbs. "Francis T. King." *The Guilford Collegian*, New Garden: Literary Societies of Guilford College, March 1908, 145-152).

⁶³Chapter 6 within this manuscript examines closer the works Francis T. King and The Association (1865-1885) (Rufus M. Jones. *The Later Periods of Quakerism*. Vol. II. London: MacMillan and Co., 1921. 695).

⁶⁴ Mary M. Hobbs. "Francis T. King." *The Guilford Collegian*, New Garden: Literary Societies of Guilford College, March 1908, 145-152.

In his written accounts Allen Jay claimed that King had a good personality and people were attracted to him because of it. Allen Jay talks about how King dreamed of what The Association's works could do to rebuild North Carolina and the South. King dreamt that, after the South remained rebuilt, it would be stronger than it had been before the American Civil War.⁶⁵ He wanted New Garden Boarding School to continue teaching the Quaker faith to its students. King believed that, with the aid of Northern Friends, a stronger New Garden Boarding School and Yearly Meeting could be achieved.⁶⁶

Both King and Gurney made bonds with other Quakers they met around America and in England. Also, both men tried their best to help any Friends in need. One thing to note, which separates these two men, was that King was a doer, not a writer, while Gurney balanced his work between both being an activist and scholar. King did not leave any personal written accounts of his works. Scholars get the majority of their accounts from third parties, such as Allen Jay, Dr. Nereus Mendenhall, and his daughter, Mary Mendenhall Hobbs.

Third party accounts leave scholars with an inability to understand King's character or his innumerable accomplishments. King seems more like a silhouette than a historical figure that had an enormous effect on Reconstruction. This thesis is an attempt to offer greater insight into King's life. This focus on the work that King and his colleagues did to help rebuild North Carolina education is essential. History has overlooked the work the Northern Quakers did for the citizens of North Carolina. When scholars have examined this period, they have glossed over the critical points, which helped bring North Carolina back from the brink of destruction. After the American

⁶⁵ Allen Jay. *Autobiography of Allen Jay (1831-1910)*. Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 2010. 112.

⁶⁶ A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 12. Francis T. King file (unpublished) located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

Civil War, North Carolina was left both physically and emotionally broken. Thus, King's work in North Carolina is a significant factor that both Quaker and historical scholars have overlooked. This work will help create a fuller picture of the process of rebuilding education within North Carolina.

Damon Hickey, Barbara C. Mallonee, Jane Karkalits Bonny, and Nicholas B. Fessenden, are right when they state that King and The Association were only created long enough to help the Quakers, the white, non-Quaker, and black populations. However, Hickey, Mallonee, Bonny, and Fessenden gloss over King and his works and do not adequately give King and his colleagues the full credit they deserve. These scholars are prime examples of how King has gotten in both Quaker and American history. If non-Quaker scholars would have done more in-depth research about King they would come to the same conclusion I have come to in this dissertation. Namely that Francis T. King was the principal person, who orchestrated the rebuilding of both the Quaker, the white non-Quaker, and the black communities, with his primary focus being on rebuilding the educational system in North Carolina.

This research on King adds to Reconstruction literature and North Carolina history because both Quakers and historians have only focused on the education of the newly-freed blacks. Historians and Quakers have not examined carefully the people who helped rebuild an entire education system that included non-Quaker whites and Quakers and took the extra progressive step forward and included education for blacks.

1.3 Literature Review

This section looks at what other scholars have written about King and Baltimore Meeting. These scholars include Damon D. Hickey, Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert, Alexander R. Stoesen, and Margery P. Abbott, and Stephen Weeks.⁶⁷

Damon D. Hickey's work⁶⁸ gives an overview of who King was and the substantial points of his work within the Quaker society. Hickey's focuses his attention on how King gave money to New Garden Boarding School and Guilford College.⁶⁹

Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert's⁷⁰ examination of King details the money he gave to both New Garden Boarding School and Guilford College, such as giving money to New Garden Boarding School for new furniture and also giving money to Guilford College for them to build new buildings for the college.⁷¹

Alexander R. Stoesen's gives a timeline of events that have led up to what Guilford College has become in the 21st century. He touches on who King was and how he helped rebuild New Garden Boarding School and then helped transform the boarding school into a college, Guilford College.⁷²

⁶⁷ Damon D. Hickey. *Sojourners No More The Quakers in the New South 1865-1920*. North Carolina: Friendly Desktop Publishing, 1997. "Pioneers of the New South: The Baltimore Association and North Carolina Friends in Reconstruction," *Quaker History* 74, no. 1 (1985): 1-17., Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert, *Guilford A Quaker College*. Greensboro, North Carolina: Jos. J. Stone & Company, 1937. Alexander R. Stoesen. *Guilford College On The Strength of 150 Years*. The Board Of Trustees, Guilford College. Margery P. Abbott, Mary E. Chijioke, Pink Dandelion, and John W. Oliver Jr. *Historical Dictionary of the Friends (Quakers)*. Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2012.

⁶⁸Damon D. Hickey. *Sojourners No More The Quakers in the New South 1865-1920*. North Carolina: Friendly Desktop Publishing, 1997. "Pioneers of the New South: The Baltimore Association and North Carolina Friends in Reconstruction," *Quaker History* 74, no. 1 (1985): 1-17.

⁶⁹ Damon D. Hickey. *Sojourners No More The Quakers in the New South 1865-1920*. North Carolina: Friendly Desktop Publishing, 1997. "Pioneers of the New South: The Baltimore Association and North Carolina Friends in Reconstruction," *Quaker History* 74, no. 1 (1985): 1-17.

⁷⁰ Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert. *Guilford A Quaker College*. Greensboro, North Carolina: Jos. J. Stone & Company, 1937.

⁷¹ Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert. *Guilford A Quaker College*. Greensboro, North Carolina: Jos. J. Stone & Company, 1937.

⁷² Alexander R. Stoesen. *Guilford College On The Strength of 150 Years*. The Board Of Trustees, Guilford College.

Margery P. Abbott et al. in their work⁷³ gives a brief description of who King was and his work within the Quakers in North Carolina.⁷⁴

Stephen Weeks looks at the Southern Friends during the slavery period. Weeks examines what the Southern Quakers were doing during this period and how the Quakers grappled with slavery within the South which conflicted with their morals and social testimonies. Weeks gives scholars a better picture of the structure and issues of slavery and the conflict that Quakers experienced.⁷⁵ As a matter of fact, my research shows King experienced this conflict and assisted slaves throughout his life.

In these books, scholars do not to give Francis T. King credit for his many contributions during Reconstruction. These scholars give simple facts about King leaving out his contributions in soliciting aid, creating of schools, and the introducing of crop rotation; just to name a few. . Plus, books that consist of information about the American Reconstruction period including those by Georgy Downs and Kate Masur, make no mention of King.⁷⁶

Thomas J. Brown takes a new look at what created the separation within America that led to the occurrence of the American Civil War and how the separation was made more extensive during the American Reconstruction period between the white non-Quakers and the newly freed blacks.⁷⁷

⁷³ Margery P. Abbott, Mary E. Chijioke, Pink Dandelion, and John W. Oliver Jr. *Historical Dictionary of the Friends (Quakers)*. Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2012.

⁷⁴ Margery P. Abbott, Mary E. Chijioke, Pink Dandelion, and John W. Oliver Jr. *Historical Dictionary of the Friends (Quakers)*. Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2012.

⁷⁵ Stephen Weeks. *Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History Press*. Baltimore: University of North Carolina and Johns Hopkins University Studies, 1896.

⁷⁶ Gregory Downs and Kate Masur. *The World The Civil War Made*. The University of North Carolina Press Chapel Hill. 2015.

⁷⁷ *Reconstructions: New Perspectives on Postbellum America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Lacey K. Ford's, edited collection⁷⁸ examines the reformation of agriculture within the South and the changes that occurred during the Reconstruction period. In Ford's work, the scholars compare the breaking of the old norms of slavery of blacks versus the freedom of whites.⁷⁹

David Brown and Clive Webb⁸⁰ examine how labels within the South were changing during the Civil War. Slavery created distinct divisions where whites were free, and blacks enslaved. After the American Civil War, as Brown's and Webb's work shows, the categories were just re-labeled to create new forms of segregation.⁸¹

John H. Franklin⁸² examines what was happening in the broader white and black non-Quaker population during the American Reconstruction period. Also within his works, Franklin sets the tone of how both the white and black non-Quaker people were suffering in the aftermath of the American Civil War.

Kenneth M. Stampp in his work⁸³ examines the American Reconstruction period takes a synthetic viewpoint of the American Reconstruction. Stampp makes his primary focus on the historiography of this period and how it affected what happened during the American Reconstruction period rather than just laying facts about this period as John H. Franklin does within his examination of the American Reconstruction period.

The historical scholars, who look at this period, have seemed to miss a considerable factor, which drove the American Reconstruction and the Quaker community. The Northern Quakers such

⁷⁸ *A Companion to the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Wiley-Blackwell, 2005.

⁷⁹ *A Companion to the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Wiley-Blackwell, 2005.

⁸⁰ David Brown and Clive Webb. *Race in the American South From Slavery to Civil Rights*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007.

⁸¹ David Brown and Clive Webb. *Race in the American South From Slavery to Civil Rights*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007.

⁸² John Franklin. *Reconstruction After the Civil War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

⁸³ Kenneth M. Stampp. *The Era Of Reconstruction 1865-1877*. Toronto: Random House, 1965.

as Francis T. King, The Association, other Northern Quakers, and Quakers from Britain working with the Quaker left in the South, especially in North Carolina, were the dominant driving force of the Reconstruction.⁸⁴

A closer examination is needed of Francis T. King and his work in North Carolina re-establishing an educational system for the Quakers and the more extensive white and black non-Quaker public. This investigation of the creation of public education for all even though separate gives a fuller picture of a hard-working man dedicated to building and rebuilding the nation. This research gives Francis T. King the full credit that he deserves.

1.4. Thesis Outline

The next chapter charts the context for the study both regarding Quaker schism and realignment during the nineteenth century including the vital role played by Joseph John Gurney whom King befriended and admired, and regarding slavery in America and Quaker opposition to it. Chapter 3 outlines the events of the American Civil War and the subsequent plan for reconstruction. Chapters 4, 5, 6 proceed mostly chronologically and detail King and the Association's work on educational reconstruction, agricultural reform, Freedmen schools, and internal Quaker revival with the renewal of New Garden Friends School. Chapter 7 looks at work after 1869 while Chapter 8 concludes the research. The principal aspiration is to illustrate that Francis T. King was a pivotal participant in the American Reconstruction period and demonstrates the power one person can have to make change within society.

⁸⁴ Within chapter 4 of this dissertation examines the driving force of the Northern Quakers and British Quaker helping rebuilding North Carolina.

1.5. Chapter Summary

This chapter has given a brief biography of Francis T. King, included a literature review which takes a closer look at the work scholars have done on Francis T. King and his works within the Quaker community and within the border, white and black non-Quaker public and outlined the thesis.

Chapter 2: Context

This chapter explores the context for this study: early Quaker beliefs, Quaker Testimonies, Elias Hicks (1748-1830), The Great Separation, and Joseph John Gurney (1788-1847). This examination of Quakerism creates a precise map of the faith and critical figures within Quakerism that King designed his own life and faith around. The chapter also looks at the context of slavery in America and Quaker opposition to it including examples from King's own life.

2.1. Quakerism

2.1.1 Early Quaker Beliefs

Carole Spencer⁸⁵ claims that the central belief of early Quakers was that one could reach perfection.⁸⁶ In the book *Holiness: The Soul of Quakerism: An Historical Analysis of the Theology of Holiness in the Quaker Tradition*, Spencer claims that Quakers aimed to achieve the spiritual state of perfection. Perfection is a connection with God through Christ and is viewed as individual and private, allowing a person to create a profound intimacy with their higher power.⁸⁷ The dominant idea that divided Quakers and the Puritans were the notions of individual rebirth and the

⁸⁵ Carole Spencer is the faculty member and Associate professor of Christian Spirituality at Earlham College ("Carole Spencer." LinkedIn. Accessed March 9, 2018).

⁸⁶ The word perfection derives from the Greek word *theosis*, "God-likeness" (Carole D. Spencer. *Holiness: The Soul of Quakerism An Historical Analysis of the Theology of holiness in the Quaker Tradition*. Colorado Springs: Paternoster: Think Faith, 2007. 33).

⁸⁷ Carole D. Spencer. *Holiness: The Soul of Quakerism An Historical Analysis of the Theology of holiness in the Quaker Tradition*. Colorado Springs: Paternoster: Think Faith, 2007. 32.

rebirth of the true church. The Quakers believe rebirth is a mystical⁸⁸ process and a form of life contained in the spiritual community.⁸⁹

George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, had a vision of himself going through a flaming sword and becoming purified.⁹⁰ Quakers believe the only baptism is through the Holy Spirit: they get this notion from John the Baptist's statement in Matthew 3:11.⁹¹

2.1.2. Quaker Testimonies

Today, the core Quaker values of community, equality, integrity, peace, and simplicity help shape Quaker spirituality and way of life.⁹² Witness has always been integral to Quaker spirituality as well. The community is the bond and identity in which Friends create a universal connection with each other and with God.⁹³

The Quaker sense of equality is that everyone has equal access to God. The sense of equality is reflected in Quaker belief that no person should be addressed by a title.⁹⁴ George Fox's

⁸⁸ According to scholars there is no suitable definition or principle stander of mystical experience and agreement on what exactly the nature of mystical experience is (Carole D. Spencer. *Holiness: The Soul of Quakerism An Historical Analysis of the Theology of holiness in the Quaker Tradition*. Colorado Springs: Paternoster: Think Faith, 2007. 28).

⁸⁹ Carole D. Spencer. *Holiness: The Soul of Quakerism An Historical Analysis of the Theology of holiness in the Quaker Tradition*. Colorado Springs: Paternoster: Think Faith, 2007. 33.

⁹⁰ "After he drove the man out, he placed on the east side of the Garden of Eden cherubim and a flaming sword flashing back and forth to guard the way to the tree of life. Genesis 3:24 (New International Version - UK).

⁹¹ "I baptize you with water for repentance. But after me comes one who is more powerful than I, whose sandals I am not worth to carry. He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and fire" Matthew 3:11 (New International Version - UK).

⁹² Margery P. Abbott, Mary E. Chijioke, Pink Dandelion, and John W. Oliver Jr. *The A to Z of the Friends (Quakers)* Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2012. 208.

⁹³ Ben Pink Dandelion. *Celebrating the Quaker Way*. London: Quaker Books, 2009. 6.

⁹⁴ In Early Quakerism the use of 'thee' was used to address everyone instead of the formal 'you' to represent all are equal (Pink Dandelion. *An Introduction To Quakerism*. Cambridge: Cambridge Press, 2007. 27.)

first focus on equality related to ministry and the right of every person to preach, both men and women.⁹⁵ Fox used scripture from the Bible the words of Mary, Jesus' mother, "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour,"⁹⁶ to illustrate that women also have access to God's word. In 1666⁹⁷ Margaret Fell published *Women's Speaking Justified, Proved and Allowed of by the Scriptures* arguing for women's right to preach, using Genesis 1:27.⁹⁸

Integrity has four components: the refusal of oaths, truth-telling, honesty, and plain speech. Quakers refused to take oaths⁹⁹ because early Friends viewed oaths as a double standard, since, if one has to take an oath, it implies that they may lie at other times.¹⁰⁰

Subsequently, the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 required that all were to pledge allegiance to the King of England. This type of oath conflicted with the Quaker sense of integrity, which was a significant factor in the faith. It was evident to Quakers that it was wrong, citing Matthew¹⁰¹ to take an oath to the King of England.¹⁰² As a result, for upholding their integrity and

⁹⁵ At the time, George Fox speaking out that all can preach when most all other religious groups silenced their women to preach and claimed that women had no souls (George Fox. *The Journal Of George Fox*. edited by John L. Nickalls, Philadelphia: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1997. 9).

⁹⁶ Luke 1:46-47 (King James Version -UK).

⁹⁷ Michael L. Birkel. *Silence And Witness The Quaker Tradition* Traditions of Christian Spirituality Series. New York: Orbis Books, 1985. 107.

⁹⁸ So God created mankind in his own image, in the image of God he re-created them; male and female he created them. (Genesis 1:27 (New International Version - UK).

⁹⁹ Early Quakers used Matthew 5:33-7 where Jesus forbids swearing, 'Again, you have heard that it was said to the people long ago, "Do not break your oath, but fulfil to the Lord the oaths you have made." But I tell you, do not swear an oath at all: either by heaven for it is God's throne; or by the earth, for it is his footstool; or by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the Great King. And do not swear by your head, for you cannot make even one hair white or black. All you need to say is simply "Yes," or "No"; anything beyond this comes from the evil one (New International Version – UK).

¹⁰⁰ Michael L. Birkel. *Silence And Witness The Quaker Tradition* Traditions of Christian Spirituality Series. New York: Orbis Books, 1985. 105-106.

¹⁰¹ "Swear not at all" (Mathew 5:34).

¹⁰² *Faith and Practice*. North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends. ed. 2012. 141.

not pledging allegiance to the King Quakers faced having their property removed and imprisonment.¹⁰³

Quaker merchants did not believe in haggling or having unjust prices, so many of them had set prices. To them, truth-telling meant having prices set with integrity as well as honest business practices.¹⁰⁴

Honesty reflects in plain speech, where the months and days of the week were only referred to by numbers replacing their pagan names.¹⁰⁵ Sunday, for example, became known as First Day and March became known as Third Month.¹⁰⁶

As a result of the English Civil War (1642-1651), many non-Quakers quickly identify Quakers with the anti-war testimony, against war recognizing it as one of their noteworthy beliefs. This testimony started out as a personal leading, with many Quakers becoming pacifists after their involvement in the war.¹⁰⁷ By 1660,¹⁰⁸ this became a testimony shared by all Quakers. Margaret

¹⁰³ Pink Dandelion. *The Quakers: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: OUP Oxford. 2008. 21-22.

¹⁰⁴ Michael L. Birkel. *Silence And Witness The Quaker Tradition* Traditions of Christian Spirituality Series. New York: Orbis Books, 1985. 105-106. And “The Quietist Period” (eighteenth century), 2ed. Dublin, Ireland: Yearly Meeting of Friends in Ireland. 2004. 16-17.

¹⁰⁵ Michael L. Birkel. *Silence And Witness The Quaker Tradition* Traditions of Christian Spirituality Series. New York: Orbis Books, 1985. 106.

¹⁰⁶ In 1752 the calendar changed and March became the third month. In the later nineteen century and to present day, referring to the months and days by numbers has been descended from generation to generation (Michael L. Birkel. *Silence And Witness The Quaker Tradition* Traditions of Christian Spirituality Series. New York: Orbis Books, 1985. 106). And “The Quietist Period” (eighteenth century), 2ed. Dublin, Ireland: Yearly Meeting of Friends in Ireland. 2004. 17.

¹⁰⁷ Donna McDaniel and Vanessa Julye. *Fit for Freedom Not for Friendship Quakers, African Americans, and the Myth of Racial Justice*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Quaker Press. 2009. 143-144.

¹⁰⁸ Michael L. Birkel. *Silence And Witness The Quaker Tradition* Traditions of Christian Spirituality Series. New York: Orbis Books, 1985. 117.

Fell wrote to Charles II and Parliament in 1660, to explain the Quaker stance against war, using the Epistle of James as her foundation.¹⁰⁹

The simplicity testimony means to live a simple life, focusing on God, without the distractions of worldly things.¹¹⁰ Early Quakers used Matthew 6:25-33¹¹¹ to emphasize that one should live within their means. Later, many Quakers drew a link between living a simple life and social justice.¹¹²

Quaker values help Friends examine the ever-changing world and allow them to live with integrity within secular society. Moreover, each value brings them closer to God.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ Margaret Fell. *Womens Speaking Justified, Proved, and Allowed of by the Scriptures, All such as speak by the Spirit and Power of the Jesus*. London Press: London, 1666. 1-4.

¹¹⁰ (The testimony of simplicity developed throughout Quaker history (Michael L. Birkel. *Silence And Witness The Quaker Tradition* Traditions of Christian Spirituality Series. New York: Orbis Books, 1985. 111, Thomas R. Kelly, *A Testament Of Devotion*. New York: HarperOne, 1941. 45. And “The Quietist Period” (eighteenth century), 2ed. Dublin, Ireland: Yearly Meeting of Friends in Ireland. 2004. 17.)

¹¹¹ ‘Therefore I tell you, do not worry about your life, what you will eat or drink; or about your body, what you will wear. Is not life more than food, and the body more than clothes? Look at the birds of the air; they do not sow or reap or store away in barns, and yet your heavenly Father feeds them. Are you not much more valuable than they? Can any one of you by worrying add a single hour to your life? And you do you worry about clothes? See how the flowers of the field grow. They do not labour or spin. Yet I tell you that not even Solomon in all his splendor was dressed like one of these. If that is how God clothes the grass of the field, which is here today and tomorrow is thrown into the fire, will he not much more clothe you – you of little faith? So do not worry, saying, “What shall we eat?” Or “What shall we drink?” Or “What shall we wear?” For the pagans run after all these things, and your heavenly Father knows that you need them. But seek first his kingdom and his righteousness, and all these things will be given to you as well.’ (Matthew 6:25-33 New International Version – UK).

¹¹²In 1693, William Penn wrote, ‘The very trimming of the vain world would clothe all the naked one (William Penn, *Some Fruits of Solitude* (London, 1693), Maxim 67; reprinted in Hugh S. Barbour, *William Penn on Religion and Ethics “The Emergence of Liberal Quakerism* (Lewiston. New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1991), vol. 2. 524).

¹¹³ *Faith and Practice*. North Carolina Friends. ed. 2012. 54.

2.1.3. Elias Hicks (1748-1830)

Elias Hicks was born in 1748.¹¹⁴ His occupations were as a surveyor and minister.¹¹⁵ One belief that Hicks had was the idea of continuous revelation. For humans to access these signs, one needs to be open to receive what God keeps revealing to them. Hicks emphasized the authority of revelation to the extent of questioning aspects of scriptural teaching.¹¹⁶ Most of Hicks' travels were on the East Coast of the United States of America and in Canada, where he preached his ideas and drew around him a group who became known as Hicksites. Hicks died in 1830, but his legacy is one of some separations.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Margery P. Abbott, Mary E. Chijioke, Pink Dandelion, and John W. Oliver Jr. *Historical Dictionary of the Friends (Quakers)*. Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2012. 165.

¹¹⁵ Margery P. Abbott, Mary E. Chijioke, Pink Dandelion, and John W. Oliver Jr. *Historical Dictionary of the Friends (Quakers)*. Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2012. 165.

¹¹⁶ Letters of E. Hicks, New York, 1834, p. 25. Samuel M. Janney. "The Holy Scriptures," *The History of the Religious Society of Friends from its rise to the year 1828*. Vol. 3. Philadelphia: T. Ellwood Zell, 1867. 5.

¹¹⁷ Samuel M. Janney. "The Doctrines of Elias Hicks." *The History of the Religious Society of Friends from its rise to the year 1828*. Vol. 3. Philadelphia: T. Ellwood Zell, 1867. 3.

2.1.4. The Great Separation

The first significant split, known as the Great Separation occurred in 1827,¹¹⁸ between the Orthodox and Hicksites. Over the following decades, more divisions occurred.¹¹⁹ The British Quaker reaction to the Hicksites was to cut off correspondence with this group of Quakers altogether. In the 19th century, the British Quakers were more sociologically harmonized than the American Quakers. The British Quakers linked themselves with the wealthy business classes.¹²⁰

The Orthodox branch divided into Gurneyite and Wilburite branches in the 1840s. The Gurneyite branch of Quakerism followed the teachings of Joseph John Gurney (1788-1847).¹²¹

2.1.5. Joseph John Gurney (1788-1847)

Joseph John Gurney came from a well-known Quaker family that was from Norfolk, England. He was as a banker, but he was also a biblical scholar and minister. He was a recognized minister in both England and in America.¹²² Gurney had a firm belief that Biblical Scripture held the “Truth.”¹²³ Wilmer Cooper in his book *A Living Faith and Historical Study of Quaker Beliefs*, states

¹¹⁸ Wilmer A. Cooper. *A Living Faith An Historical Study of Quaker Beliefs*. Richmond: Friends United Press, 1990. 4-5.

¹¹⁹ Wilmer A. Cooper. *A Living Faith An Historical Study of Quaker Beliefs*. Richmond: Friends United Press, 1990. 4-5.

¹²⁰ Thomas D. Hamm. "Revivalism." In *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, ed. by Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. 149.

¹²¹ Margery P. Abbott, Mary E. Chijioke, Pink Dandelion, and John W. Oliver Jr. *Historical Dictionary of the Friends (Quakers)*. Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2012. 155.

¹²² Margery P. Abbott, Mary E. Chijioke, Pink Dandelion, and John W. Oliver Jr. *Historical Dictionary of the Friends (Quakers)*. Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2012. 156.

¹²³ Wilmer A. Cooper. *A Living Faith and Historical Study of Quaker Beliefs*. Richmond: Friends United Press, 1990. 11-13.

that Quakers use a capital “T”¹²⁴ to emphasize the word truth.¹²⁵ Gurneyite Quakers (people who follow the way Joseph John Gurney believed) do not place such a strong emphasis on the Inward Light as some other branches of Friends do. The Hicksite (later liberal) Quakers, who took their name from Elias Hicks, set more authority in the Inward Light being one’s teacher instead of Scripture.¹²⁶ The Wilburites (later Conservative) balanced the Inward Light and Scripture in their understanding.¹²⁷

Joseph John Gurney (1788-1847)¹²⁸ was an English traveling minister, in England and America from 1818 until his death in 1847.¹²⁹ Gurney was brought up in privilege. His father was a wealthy banker in Norwich, England. Gurney’s mother was a descendant of Robert Barclay, who was a late seventeenth-century Quaker leader.¹³⁰ Gurney as a Quaker was a religious dissenter, and not allowed to enter an English university.¹³¹ However, Gurney his higher education from

¹²⁴ Wilmer A. Cooper. *A Living Faith and Historical Study of Quaker Beliefs*. Richmond: Friends United Press, 1990. 11-13.

¹²⁵ Wilmer A. Cooper. *A Living Faith and Historical Study of Quaker Beliefs*. Richmond: Friends United Press, 1990. 11-13.

¹²⁶ Margery P. Abbott, Mary E. Chijioke, Pink Dandelion, and John W. Oliver Jr. *Historical Dictionary of the Friends (Quakers)*. Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2012. 165.

¹²⁷ Margery P. Abbott, Mary E. Chijioke, Pink Dandelion, and John W. Oliver Jr. *Historical Dictionary of the Friends (Quakers)*. Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2012. 165.

¹²⁸ Margery P. Abbott, Mary E. Chijioke, Pink Dandelion, and John W. Oliver Jr. *Historical Dictionary of the Friends (Quakers)*. Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2012. 155-156.

¹²⁹ Margery P. Abbott, Mary E. Chijioke, Pink Dandelion, and John W. Oliver Jr. *Historical Dictionary of the Friends (Quakers)*. Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2012. 155-156.

¹³⁰ Thomas D. Hamm. *The Quakers In America*. United States of America: Columbia University Press, 2003.47.

¹³¹ It was not until 1871 that Quakers were no longer excluded from university education in England (Elizabeth A. O'Donnell. "Higher Education And The Religious Society of Friends." *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, ed. by Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. 412).

Oxford in England under private tutors, and he gained an equivalent degree.¹³² His tutor was John Rogers; Gurney elder brother John also had the same tutor.¹³³

As a young adult, Gurney struggled internally. In his journal written in 1808, he depicts how he had battled spiritually since returning from Oxford. He found comfort in meetings, which he had regularly attended since he was seventeen.¹³⁴

Gurney wrote: "Their quietness, the seriousness of those Friends who were in the regular habit of attending them, the sweet feeling of unity in our worship and the liveliness of the ministry sometimes uttered on these occasions, are all halloed in my mind and feelings."¹³⁵

Gurney's early spiritual experience which is found in his journal shows the reality and depth of his coming into his own spiritual life. Gurney came to his own realization that faith and holiness were an 'essential connexion.'¹³⁶ Gurney also stated that he felt a "testimony borne to the absolute necessity of the inward and immediate operations of the Spirit of God."¹³⁷

¹³² Thomas D. Hamm. *The Quakers In America*. United States of America: Columbia University Press, 2003.47.

¹³³ Joseph J. Gurney. "Gurney's Journals and Correspondence." In *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney with Selection from his Journals Correspondence*, edited by Joseph B. Braithwaite, Los Angeles: The Library of The University of California, 2008. 14.

¹³⁴ Joseph J. Gurney. "Gurney's Journals and Correspondence." In *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney with Selection from his Journals Correspondence*, edited by Joseph B. Braithwaite, Los Angeles: The Library of The University of California, 2008. 35.

¹³⁵ Joseph J. Gurney. "Gurney's Journals and Correspondence." In *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney with Selection from his Journals Correspondence*, edited by Joseph B. Braithwaite, Los Angeles: The Library of The University of California, 2008. 35.

¹³⁶ Joseph J. Gurney. "Gurney's Journals and Correspondence." In *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney with Selection from his Journals Correspondence*, edited by Joseph B. Braithwaite, Los Angeles: The Library of The University of California, 2008. 41.

¹³⁷ Joseph J. Gurney. "Gurney's Journals and Correspondence." In *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney with Selection from his Journals Correspondence*, edited by Joseph B. Braithwaite, Los Angeles: The Library of The University of California, 2008. 41.

On July 8, 1808, Gurney wrote in his journal that he finally found his place within the Christian faith. He no longer felt as if he was on the wrong path, but on the right path with the guidance of the Lord.¹³⁸

When Gurney reached his twenties, he decided to commit himself to a life of humanitarianism and service to Friends.¹³⁹ From 1818 until his death in 1847 Gurney was acknowledged as a Quaker minister and he traveled widely ministering in Britain, North America, and continental Europe. Gurney immersed himself working for peace, penal reform, and the abolition of slavery. Gurney's principal argument against slavery was on economic grounds.¹⁴⁰

From 1837-1840 Gurney traveled in North America. He visited almost every Orthodox Quaker community. A significant amount of Quakers found him appealing, but some other Quakers, especially in New England, eastern Ohio, and Philadelphia, were troubled by his worldliness.¹⁴¹

Francis T. King was influenced by Gurney as is evident in Francis T. King's writings.¹⁴² One example of this influence is the correlation between Francis T. King and Joseph John Gurney is their humanitarianism and service to Friends. Both King and Gurney had a commitment to helping others, and their humanitarianism helps frame the work King did with The Association in both Baltimore, Maryland and North Carolina.

¹³⁸ Joseph J. Gurney. "Gurney's Journals and Correspondence." In *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney with Selection from his Journals Correspondence*, edited by Joseph B. Braithwaite, Los Angeles: The Library of The University of California, 2008. 43.

¹³⁹ Thomas D. Hamm. *The Quakers In America*. United States of America: Columbia University Press, 2003.47.

¹⁴⁰ Margery P., Abbott, Mary E. Chijioke, Pink Dandelion, and John W. Oliver Jr. "Gurney, Joseph John (1788-1847)." In *The A to Z of Friends (Quakers)*, Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2006. 123.

¹⁴¹ Thomas D. Hamm. *The Quakers In America*. United States of America: Columbia University Press, 2003.47.

¹⁴² Francis King. *Francis T. King Reminiscences* Ms. 322. 10., located Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The John Hopkins University.

A considerable amount of Gurney's influence came out of his personality, which people regarded as charming and even captivating.¹⁴³ One gift he had was for public speaking. He worked tirelessly for education, prison reform, and the abolition of slavery. Gurney's push for the abolishment of slavery allowed him to form closer bonds with the white non-Quaker reformers, who held more evangelical views. At the time, Gurney was one of the few Quakers, who studied Hebrew.

Evangelicalism grew within Gurney and can be seen to be a reaction to a fearful childhood. When Gurney looked back at his childhood he did not have pleasant memories; he says that as a child he was fearful and nervous and had many nightmares. Gurney wrote that on many nights he would leave his room and go to his sister, Elizabeth's room, and sleep.¹⁴⁴

"Often in the night I was overtaken by an indescribable nervous agitation as if the very walls were falling upon me to crush me; and many a time did I spring from my bed, and seek refuge with some kind friend or sister, particularly my sister Elizabeth, to pity and protect me."¹⁴⁵

As Gurney was getting older, he felt as he was getting closer to the higher power. "If religion has indeed grown in me, (as I humbly believed it has, though amidst innumerable backsliding,) it has pretty much-kept pace with the growth of my natural facilities; for I cannot now recall any decided turning point in this matter, except that which afterwards brought me to

¹⁴³ Rufus M. Jones. *The Later Periods of Quakerism*. Vol. II. London: MacMillan and Co., 1921. 695.

¹⁴⁴ Joseph J. Gurney. "Gurney's Journals and Correspondence." In *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney with Selection from his Journals Correspondence*, edited by Joseph B. Braithwaite, Los Angeles: The Library of The University of California, 2008. 11.

¹⁴⁵ Joseph J. Gurney. "Gurney's Journals and Correspondence." In *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney with Selection from his Journals Correspondence*, edited by Joseph B. Braithwaite, Los Angeles: The Library of The University of California, 2008. 11.

plain ‘Quakerism.’”¹⁴⁶ He learned to be braver and grew to understand the strength that the higher power gave him to overcome his fears that he had as a child. “The work which effects the vital change from a state of nature to a state of grace is doubtless often begun in very early childhood.”¹⁴⁷

Gurney claims he is not fully clear on how he decided to practice plain ‘Quakerism.’¹⁴⁸ Though when he did make the turning point on how he was going to practice Quakerism in his opinion “in no degree at variance with the cardinal Christian doctrine of the necessity of conversion, and of the new birth unto righteousness.”¹⁴⁹ Gurney continued and personally believed that work that affects the vital within a person is the change from a condition of being of nature to a state of grace. This change starts in early childhood and opens up the soul to receive God’s grace and guidance.¹⁵⁰

Gurney’s own worshiping experience through the connection to the higher power, helped him deal with the fear he had as a child and become the incredible man helping form the traditions of Orthodox Quakerism.

¹⁴⁶ Joseph J. Gurney. "Gurney's Journals and Correspondence." In *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney with Selection from his Journals Correspondence*, edited by Joseph B. Braithwaite, Los Angeles: The Library of The University of California, 2008. 12.

¹⁴⁷ Joseph J. Gurney. "Gurney's Journals and Correspondence." In *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney with Selection from his Journals Correspondence*, edited by Joseph B. Braithwaite, Los Angeles: The Library of The University of California, 2008. 12.

¹⁴⁸ Joseph J. Gurney. "Gurney's Journals and Correspondence." In *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney with Selection from his Journals Correspondence*, edited by Joseph B. Braithwaite, Los Angeles: The Library of The University of California, 2008. 12.

¹⁴⁹ Joseph J. Gurney. "Gurney's Journals and Correspondence." In *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney with Selection from his Journals Correspondence*, edited by Joseph B. Braithwaite, Los Angeles: The Library of The University of California, 2008. 12.

¹⁵⁰ Joseph J. Gurney. "Gurney's Journals and Correspondence." In *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney with Selection from his Journals Correspondence*, edited by Joseph B. Braithwaite, Los Angeles: The Library of The University of California, 2008. 12.

Gurney also believed that justification or acceptance by God, and sanctification, the achievement of holiness, were separate experiences. Gurney claimed justification came first, an immediate experience through faith in the power of the Atonement of Christ. Sanctification followed it as a later experience. Lastly, Gurney disputed that Friends should hold their commitments to unprogrammed worship, simplicity, the ministry of women, pacifism, and Friends should not fear work with other evangelical Protestants in good causes.¹⁵¹ By the 1830s Joseph John Gurney had become the dominant evangelical voice in London Yearly Meeting, resisted only by a few Quietists.¹⁵²

Gurney accepted an idiosyncratic Wesleyan view accepting the sanctification as an ensuing experience to justification. Gurney's view of how Quakerism should be practiced became a very heated debate within Quakerism with some Quakers leaving and forming their sects of Quakerism such as the Wilburites.¹⁵³

In the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s Gurney wrote a series of books in which he envisioned a fundamental reshaping of the foundations of Quakerism.¹⁵⁴ Gurney personally believed the first two generations of Quaker leaders, including his ancestor Robert Barclay, had strayed on specific points within Quaker beliefs. One belief about which Gurney believed the generations before him had erred was the doctrine of the Inward Light. Gurney's stance about the Inward Light was that

¹⁵¹ Thomas D. Hamm. *The Quakers In America*. United States of America: Columbia University Press, 2003.47.

¹⁵² 'Quietism' is a linguistic concept and onetime polemical term as characteristic uncomplimentary meaning to a specific method of mysticism which found its nemesis in the infamous Quietist Controversy. 'Quietist' where Quakers, who started to look inward and focus more on maintenance of good internal order rather than on proselytizing on making converts (Thomas D. Hamm. *The Quakers In America*. United States of America: Columbia University Press, 2003. 29-30 and 47. And Elaine Pryce. "Upon the Quakers and the Quietists': Quietism, Power and Authority in Late Seventeenth-Century France, and its Relation to Quaker History and Theology." *Quaker Studies* 14, no. 2: 212-13).

¹⁵³ Thomas D. Hamm. "Revivalism." In *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, ed. by Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. 149.

¹⁵⁴ Thomas D. Hamm. *The Quakers In America*. United States of America: Columbia University Press, 2003.47.

it could not compete with the Light conveyed by the Bible. Gurney states that comparing the two types of Light was like comparing noon and twilight.¹⁵⁵

While Gurney was preaching and writing books about his beliefs on how he viewed Quakerism; a third group separated from the Orthodox group,¹⁵⁶ the Wilburites. The founder of the Wilburites was John Wilbur. Wilbur was born in 1774 in Rhode Island. John Wilbur preached his ideas of Quakerism in the 1830s. Wilbur personally believed that the Holy Spirit working through a person was a critical element that Gurney and his followers were missing in their practice. Wilbur placed high importance on how the experience of the Holy Spirit helped change Quakers' hearts. The Wilburite Yearly meeting was founded in 1845. John Wilbur died in 1856.¹⁵⁷

One tract that, Joseph John Gurney wrote was entitled *A Letter to a Friend on the Authority, Purpose, and Effects of Christianity, and Especially on the doctrine of Redemption* (London, 1835). It is within this document that Gurney explains his stance on his faith, how he personally believed the Bible, and how people should trust the Scriptures fully.

In this letter, Gurney spoke about how he viewed Quakerism. He begins studying the Scriptures, specifically the New Testament. Gurney states that though there are many different translations of the New Testament, it still represents the words of God and thus making the Scriptures credible. He personally believed that the apostles held the truth and that Quakers should

¹⁵⁵ Joseph J. Gurney. "Gurney's Journals and Correspondence." In *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney with Selection from his Journals Correspondence*, edited by Joseph B. Braithwaite, Los Angeles: The Library of The University of California, 2008. 33-35.

¹⁵⁶ Margery P. Abbott, Mary E. Chijioke, Pink Dandelion, and John W. Oliver Jr. *Historical Dictionary of the Friends (Quakers)*. Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2012. 166.

¹⁵⁷ Margery P. Abbott, Mary E. Chijioke, Pink Dandelion, and John W. Oliver Jr. *Historical Dictionary of the Friends (Quakers)*. Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2012. 364-365.

follow through reading the Scriptures.¹⁵⁸ Gurney also states that the authors of the gospels were: honest, independent and straightforward writers, based on eye-witnesses accounts.¹⁵⁹

Gurney claimed that the Divine Being holds the future and that the prophets get their knowledge from the Divine Being. Gurney goes on to state that Jesus Christ was a prophet and that he had predicted events to come, such as his death and resurrection.¹⁶⁰ Gurney studied Jesus in the different aspects such as Jesus Christ, the prophet, and Jesus Christ, the Messiah.¹⁶¹

In *A Letter to a Friend on the Authority, Purpose, and Effects of Christianity, and Especially on the doctrine of Redemption* (London, 1835) Gurney laid out how he viewed God, Jesus Christ, and the Scriptures. I suggest that Gurney was trying to explain how he viewed Christianity.

2.1.6. Joseph John Gurney's Journey to America

In 1836, Gurney decided to make the journey to America, although it was not until July 8, 1837, that Gurney sailed from Liverpool to America. His first stop in America was Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, which he reached on August 24, 1837.¹⁶² It was also in 1837¹⁶³ that Gurney visited

¹⁵⁸ Thomas D. Hamm. *Quaker Writings An Anthology* 1650-1920: Penguin book, 2010, 207-208.

¹⁵⁹ Thomas D. Hamm. *Quaker Writings An Anthology* 1650-1920: Penguin book, 2010, 207-208.

¹⁶⁰ Thomas D. Hamm. *Quaker Writings An Anthology* 1650-1920: Penguin book, 2010, 209.

¹⁶¹ Thomas D. Hamm. *Quaker Writings An Anthology* 1650-1920: Penguin book, 2010, 209-210.

¹⁶² James A. Rawley. *Joseph John Gurney's Mission to America, 1837-1840*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963. 655-656.

¹⁶³ Joseph John Gurney also kept regular accounts of his reading and literary labors. These accounts were taken around the year 1811 to 1837, which was interrupted by his journey to America (Joseph J. Gurney. "Gurney's Journals and Correspondence." In *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney with Selection from his Journals Correspondence*, edited by Joseph B. Braithwaite, Los Angeles: The Library of The University of California, 2008. 224.)

the newly founded Quaker school, New Garden Boarding School, created by Western Quarterly Meeting in Guilford County, North Carolina.¹⁶⁴

Quakers separating and creating new branches of Quakerism was inevitable in America given that there were charismatic leaders such as, Joseph John Gurney, Elias Hicks, and John Wilbur, who each believed their way of Quakerism was the right way. There were so many more different influences in America too, such as, the other Protestant groups, like the Methodists, who were trying to convert people to their faith. Trying to keep a firm Quaker foundation and keep followers across the vast area of America became problematic.

2.2. Slavery

2.2.1. Quaker and non-Quaker Attitudes towards Slavery

King was born in the height of American slavery which lasted until the end of the American Civil War 1865.¹⁶⁵ The 13th Amendment¹⁶⁶ brought slavery to an end and gave rise to the American Reconstruction (1865-1877)¹⁶⁷ Pre-American-Civil War Maryland was divided on the issue of slavery. The people living in its mountain region were influenced by the Northern belief that slavery was wrong, but residents of the southern part of Maryland believed, like the Southern States, that slavery was appropriate. The city of Baltimore was divided on the issue of slavery.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ Margery P. Abbott, Mary E. Chijioke, Pink Dandelion, and John W. Oliver Jr. *Historical Dictionary of the Friends (Quakers)*. Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2012. 155-156.

¹⁶⁵ John H. Franklin. *Reconstruction After the Civil War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994. 6.

¹⁶⁶ Thirteenth Amendment XIV, Section 1. "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction." (passed by Congress 31 January 1865. National Archives. "Constitution of the United States Amendments 11-27." Accessed 14 January 2016).

¹⁶⁷ John H. Franklin. *Reconstruction after the Civil War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994. 6.

¹⁶⁸ John H. Franklin. *Reconstruction After the Civil War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994. 6.

As a child, King would have encountered people who were both for and against slavery, and would himself have seen slavery first-hand through his travels with his mother. Reconciling this controversy with his Quaker upbringing profoundly influenced him as a man.¹⁶⁹

At this time, many Quakers, including King were deeply concerned about the institution of slavery. Slavery was a thriving business in Baltimore and the South. As the eighteenth century progressed, the Quakers made a drastic change, going from being slaveholders themselves to outlawing slavery within the Religious Society of Friends.¹⁷⁰ Most of the white, non-Quaker communities, though, held on to slavery as a right until and beyond the outbreak of the American Civil War.¹⁷¹

The horrible conditions in which enslaved blacks lived, troubled King. One account reflects how he legally liberated a slave by saving one hundred dollars to buy him. Then King freed the slave. At this time, since Quakers believed that all people were equal, they no longer owned slaves.¹⁷² Some Friends would do the same as King, by buying slaves, but under the terms of Quaker emancipation.¹⁷³ However, some Quakers and abolitionists disagreed with buying slaves and, instead, set the slaves free. Friends would then help the freed slaves escape to the free Northern and Midwestern states of America, and into Canada.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁹ A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 2. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A. Francis T. King file (unpublished).

¹⁷⁰ Fergus Bordewich. *Bound for Canaan*. "The Hand Of God In North Carolina." New York: Amistad, 2005. 68.

¹⁷¹ Douglas A. Blackmon. *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II*. New York: Random House, 2008. 1.

¹⁷² Fergus Bordewich. *Bound for Canaan*. "The Hand Of God In North Carolina." New York: Amistad, 2005. 67.

¹⁷³ Fergus Bordewich. *Bound for Canaan*. "The Hand Of God In North Carolina." New York: Amistad, 2005. 67. (The term of emancipation will be looked at deeper with the Carolina Quakers, who once owned slaves then abolished slavery within their society, and their structure of emancipating slaves in chapter 3).

¹⁷⁴ A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore

2.2.2. Quakers and Their Emancipation of Slaves

During the slavery period, small pockets of Quakers started taking in slaves and protecting them from the Fugitive Slave Acts (1793-1850).¹⁷⁵ The term that was used within the Quaker community when taking in slaves for protection and helping them eventually getting to the Free states (Northern states) and Canada was called emancipation.¹⁷⁶

The unusual thing that happened after these Quakers freed their own slaves is that they quickly became holders of slaves, but through the terms of Quaker emancipation.¹⁷⁷ One issue that Quakers faced during the slavery period is how society had formulated slavery into the mainstream. Having slaves was part of life. There were farms and land that needed to be tended. Whole families could not farm a plantation alone justifying slavery as a commodity. Now the question that arises is how were the Quakers as a group going to be able to go against the grain of mainstream of society?

By 1808,¹⁷⁸ Quakers made an effort to work out the problem of freeing slaves. These talks happened during North Carolina Yearly Meeting. The Meeting authorized members to emancipate their slaves until they could be freed or get out of the state of North Carolina. In the meeting, some members were given agency over these emancipated slaves. The agents were to secure

Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 3. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A).

¹⁷⁵ The Fugitive Slave Acts was passed by Congress in 1793 and 1850, which offered for the seizure and return of runaway slaves, who escaped to another state(s) (Northern States) or into a federal territory (Stanley W. Campbell. *The Slave Catchers: Enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, 1850-1860*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1970. 4-7).

¹⁷⁶ Fergus Bordewich. *Bound for Canaan*. "The Hand Of God In North Carolina." New York: Amistad, 2005. 68.

¹⁷⁷ In present day, there is a sign that marks the place where The Christiana Riot happened (ExplorePAhistory.com. "The Christiana Riot Historical Marker." Accessed 19 November 2014).

¹⁷⁸ Fergus Bordewich. *Bound for Canaan*. "The Hand Of God In North Carolina." New York: Amistad, 2005. 68.

employment of freed slaves around the community and gather their wages. Within the broader white non-Quaker public, anyone who employed the slaves was cautioned that they had to obey the Quakers principles of compassion and respect.¹⁷⁹

Many talks about slavery happened during North Carolina Yearly Meeting, held at New Garden, Guilford County in 1850;¹⁸⁰ Aaron Stalker, the Clerk, oversaw this meeting, where the people in attendance spoke about the institution of slavery.¹⁸¹ The members also talked about how using slaves as labor was unacceptable.¹⁸² It was also during this meeting that the attendees talked about how to raise money to help free slaves.¹⁸³ There were many more Yearly and Quarterly Meetings where the North Carolina Quakers talked about slavery and how they would abolish slavery throughout the Southern States.¹⁸⁴

The Quaker dilemma was that they became slaveholders again after abolishing slavery within the Society of Friends. Becoming slaveholders allowed the Quakers to protect slaves until they could relocate them to the Northern and Midwestern states of America, and into Canada. Using the system of slavery to keep slaves safe is very intriguing in that Quakers are known for their illegal ways of helping slaves escape to Free states in America using the ‘Underground

¹⁷⁹ Ferguss Bordewich. *Bound for Canaan*. “The Hand Of God In North Carolina.” New York: Amistad, 2005. 68.

¹⁸⁰ The concerns about slavery were addressed during the queries and advices section of the meeting (Aaron Stalker. *North Carolina Yearly Minutes*. Greensboro: Guilford College, 1850).

¹⁸¹ During North Carolina Yearly Meeting, they called slavery a horrible crime against the human race (Aaron Stalker. *North Carolina Yearly Minutes*. Greensboro: Guilford College, 1850).

¹⁸² The members of North Carolina Yearly Meeting came to this conclusion of slavery being unacceptable because they observed their white non-Quaker neighbors and how they were treating their slaves horribly (Aaron Stalker. *North Carolina Yearly Minutes*. Greensboro: Guilford College, 1850).

¹⁸³ Other Quaker Meetings that had set aid to the North Carolina Quakers on the behalf of helping freeing slaves in both the Quaker communities and white non-Quaker communities was New York Yearly Meeting and London Yearly Meeting (Aaron Stalker. *North Carolina Yearly Minutes*. Greensboro: Guilford College, 1850).

¹⁸⁴ Donna McDaniel and Vanessa Julye. *Fit for Freedom Not for Friendship Quakers, African Americans, and the Myth of Racial Justice*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Quaker Press. 2009. 8-10.

Railroad.’¹⁸⁵ In contrast, some Quakers believed abolishing slavery needed to be done through the governmental system, rather than by breaking the law.

2.2.3. King’s Experiences

Within the city of Baltimore, there were still sections of the town that were populated by one group of people. The book *The Power and Passion of M. Carey Thomas* states that in the late 1850’s when M. Carey Thomas¹⁸⁶ was being brought up, there was a very close-knit Quaker community living within the Old West Baltimore section of the town.¹⁸⁷ Thus when we talk of King growing up in Baltimore and raising his children there, the Quaker community and its Homewood Meeting were centered in Old West Baltimore.¹⁸⁸

King explains in his *Reminiscences* how slavery worked in Baltimore. When King was a child, slaves were placed in pens, which were large bricks buildings with barred windows and doors. The slaves were bought by non-Quaker agents in counties. Slaves in Baltimore were sold and shipped to cotton states (e.g., North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia).¹⁸⁹

He goes on to state how he would see slaves handcuffed in gangs taken to ships and sent down south. He also speaks about how freed slave servants sometimes were kidnapped; which

¹⁸⁵ Fergus Bordewich. *Bound for Canaan*. “The Hand Of God In North Carolina.” New York: Amistad, 2005. 68.

¹⁸⁶ M. Carey Thomas (1857-1935) helped raise money to open Bryn Mawr College for girls. M. Carey Thomas was the first the President of Bryn Mawr College (1885). Alfred A. Knopf. *The Power And Passion Of M. Carey Thomas*. New York. 1994 Editor Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz. 4.

¹⁸⁷ M. Carey Thomas (1857-1935) was born into the Quaker community to James Carey Thomas and Mary Whitall Thomas in Baltimore, Maryland. Alfred A. Knopf. *The Power And Passion Of M. Carey Thomas*. New York. 1994 Editor Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz. 4.

¹⁸⁸ Barbara C. Mallonee, Jane Karkalits Bonny, Nicholas B. Fessenden. *Minute By Minute A History of the Baltimore Monthly Meetings of Friends Homewood and Stony Run*. The Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, Stony Run. 1992. 81.

¹⁸⁹ Francis King. *Francis T. King Reminiscences* Ms. 322. 3-4., located Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The John Hopkins University.

happened to one of his father's servants. The servant was the son of a colored preacher. It took the King family a few days to realize what had happened to their servant, and they needed a search warrant to find him¹⁹⁰

King buying and freeing a slave at the age of nineteen was a courageous act, revealing his integrity. King said he could never own a slave because that would be against his moral judgment, and against his belief that all people were created equal.¹⁹¹

In King's *Reminiscences*, he gives more detail on, who exactly the slave was he freed and how he proceeded to free the slave. King states that one of their neighbors had a young slave boy named Tom. When King was a child, he and Tom were friends and often played together.¹⁹² "[S]lave boy Tom, a bright, intelligent mullato with who I had often played in childhood."¹⁹³

Then when Tom the slave was sixteen his master sold him to a slave dealer. King got involved with buying and setting this slave free because Tom sent him a letter asking to see him. As King spoke to Tom he explained how he had heard the singing of hymns at the house the previous night and believed there was to be a significant change:¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁰ Francis King. *Francis T. King Reminiscences* Ms. 322. 4., located Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The John Hopkins University.

¹⁹¹ A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 3. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A).

¹⁹² Francis King. *Francis T. King Reminiscences* Ms. 322. 4., located Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The John Hopkins University.

¹⁹³ Francis King. *Francis T. King Reminiscences* Ms. 322. 4., located Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The John Hopkins University.

¹⁹⁴ "I soon had his story and made up my mind to buy him for the dealer." – Francis King Reminiscences (Francis King. *Francis T. King Reminiscences* Ms. 322. 4., located Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The John Hopkins University).

King then went and spoke to the dealer and told him of his interest in buying Tom. He asked the dealer to give him a few days to be able to collect the money. Though at first, the dealer was hesitant to agree to King's request, he eventually agreed. King then went to collect enough money to buy Tom. "I put my first \$100 savings to his subscription and got the rest from my relatives, \$600 in all."¹⁹⁵ "[T]he interest on the \$100 has compounded ever since."¹⁹⁶

King's actions made Tom free. Buying Tom and turning around and freeing him was against the law. King also saw this buying and freeing Tom, the slave boy as an educational lesson. King went on at different times in his adult life to buy several slaves and free them. He gives the account of buying a mother and her young children and freeing them. King, being a modest man, never took credit for this good deed of buying and freeing this woman and her children or any other slaves he bought and freed. "[N]ever, however taking the title myself."¹⁹⁷ He also acknowledged the weighty risk he took on buying slaves and then setting them free. "I risked the illegality of the act rather than recognize the right of any man to hold a fellow being as property."¹⁹⁸

The buying of the slave named, Tom was a monumental and defining moment in King's life, revealing that, even as a young man, King was against slavery. These courageous acts would eventually lead King to do amazing humanitarian work in North Carolina during the American

¹⁹⁵ Francis King. *Francis T. King Reminiscences* Ms. 322. 5., located Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The John Hopkins University.

¹⁹⁶ Francis King. *Francis T. King Reminiscences* Ms. 322. 5., located Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The John Hopkins University.

¹⁹⁷ Francis King. *Francis T. King Reminiscences* Ms. 322. 5., located Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The John Hopkins University.

¹⁹⁸ Francis King. *Francis T. King Reminiscences* Ms. 322. 5., located Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The John Hopkins University.

Reconstruction period.¹⁹⁹ Even before he traveled south, though, he contributed much to Baltimore meeting and broader society.

2.3. Chapter Summary

This chapter has given an introduction to early Quaker beliefs and principles and set the context for the study. It has also introduced the charismatic Quaker minister, Joseph John Gurney, whose ideas led to a schism within the Society reshaping the Orthodox branch of Quakerism. It has also looked at the context of slavery in America and Quaker engagement with it. In the Southern States of America, the white-non-Quakers saw slavery as necessary for economic reasons. Though there was a massive division between whites and blacks during the Slavery period, the white-non-Quakers believed themselves as superior and the black slaves as inferior. During King's life, he, as a Quaker, helped many people profoundly influenced by his parents' charitable works for Friends around Baltimore.

¹⁹⁹ John H. Franklin. *Reconstruction After the Civil War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994. 6.

Chapter 3

During the American Civil War

3.1. Introduction

This chapter considers a variety of aspects of the American Civil War. The Friends Freedmen's Association, which Orthodox Quakers created to help the newly-freed blacks find work within the community, Normal Schools, and The Christiansburg Industrial Institute, was founded in 1862. Abraham Lincoln's strategy was to use The Emancipation Proclamation (1863)²⁰⁰ to help end the war and free the slaves. Furthermore, the conditions of North Carolina in 1863 during the American Civil War will be scrutinized. Lincoln kept in correspondence with Francis T. King and Eliza P. Gurney on the conditions of the Southern Quaker communities and the South as a whole. General Sherman's destructive 'March to the Sea' set the scene for the enormous need for reconstruction after the war.

3.2. The Friends Freedmen's Association Creation of Normal Schools

A group of Orthodox Quakers created The Friends Freedmen's Association in 1862.²⁰¹ The first name of the organization was 'The Friends Association of Philadelphia and its Vicinity for the

²⁰⁰ John H. Franklin. *Reconstruction After the Civil War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994. 12.

²⁰¹ Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore. "An Inventory of The Friend's Freedmen's Association Records 1863-1982. Accessed 2 July 2015.

Relief of Coloured Freedmen,’ but it was later identified as ‘The Friends Freedmen’s Association of Philadelphia.’²⁰²

Between the 1860s and 1870s, The Friends Freedmen’s Association’s major focus was on relief and establishing schools for the children of freed slaves.²⁰³ However, The Friends Freedmen’s Association quickly recognized that they needed to focus on training blacks to be teachers. In 1863,²⁰⁴ they shifted to the creation of Normal Schools where blacks could learn to teach, in Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, and other Southern states.²⁰⁵ In the same year, Yardley Warner²⁰⁶ started his journey throughout the South, believing that the education of free blacks was of foremost importance.²⁰⁷

The Friends Freedmen’s Association also created the Christiansburg Industrial Institute, located in Montgomery County, Virginia. The Christiansburg Industrial Institute was both a school and an agricultural farming area to help the school be self-sufficient. By 1866,²⁰⁸ they had established 25 schools in North Carolina and Virginia, and they eventually established 46 schools

²⁰² Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore. “An Inventory of The Friend’s Freedmen’s Association Records 1863-1982. Accessed 2 July 2015.

²⁰³ Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore. “An Inventory of The Friend’s Freedmen’s Association Records 1863-1982. Accessed 2 July 2015.

²⁰⁴ Stafford A. Warner. *Yardley Warner The Freedman’s Friend*. Abingdon: The Wessex Press Didcot, 1957. 63.

²⁰⁵ Stafford A. Warner. *Yardley Warner The Freedman’s Friend*. Abingdon: The Wessex Press Didcot, 1957. 63.

²⁰⁶ Yardley Warner was a Quaker lawyer, minister, and freedmen’s friend from Philadelphia also worked with blacks to establish homes on lands they purchased. He is credited with helping expand education for blacks in states like Tennessee and Virginia. (Stafford A. Warner. *Yardley Warner The Freedman’s Friend*. Abingdon: The Wessex Press Didcot, 1957. 1). See chapter Five.

²⁰⁷ Fred Brown. 2005. *Marking time: East Tennessee historical markers and the stories behind them*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. Accessed 5 June 2015. 46.

²⁰⁸ Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore. “An Inventory of The Friend’s Freedmen’s Association Records 1863-1982. Accessed 2 July 2015.

for the children of slaves.²⁰⁹ The Christiansburg Industrial Institute (1863)²¹⁰ created by The Friends Freedmen's Association, was established four years before The Baltimore Association to Advise and Assist Friends in the Southern States.²¹¹ Although both groups were working towards agricultural reform, it was The Baltimore Association who created the Model Farm (1867).²¹² The Baltimore Association was not entirely functional until 1865; although, Francis T. King and some of the Baltimore Friends had already started aid relief to the North Carolina Quakers in 1864. Francis T. King had been monitoring the conditions of the North Carolina Quakers from the beginnings of the American Civil War and had personally taken trips to see first-hand the circumstances in which both the Quaker and the white non-Quaker communities in North Carolina were suffering because of the war.²¹³

²⁰⁹ Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore. "An Inventory of The Friend's Freedmen's Association Records 1863-1982. Accessed 2 July 2015.

²¹⁰ Stafford A. Warner. *Yardley Warner The Freedman's Friend*. Abingdon: The Wessex Press Didcot, 1957. 63.

²¹¹ *Francis T. King His Life and Work*. 7. Francis T. King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

²¹² Techtriaddev. "Model Farm in High Point Connects with Quaker History." *Preservation Greensboro Saving Greensboro's Treasured Places* (June 19, 2015). Accessed 6 March 2017. <https://preservationgreensboro.org/model-farm-in-high-point-connects-with-quaker-history/>.

²¹³ Mary Mendenhall within her letters remembered meeting Francis T. King as a 10 year during the American Civil War. Also she would later write letters and an article in *The Guilford Collegian* about Francis T. King (Mary Mendenhall. "The Civil War And Reconstruction Through The Eyes Of Mary Mendenhall Hobbs." In *The Civil War And Reconstruction Through The Eyes Of Mary Mendenhall Hobbs*, edited by Gwen G. Erickson, 161-62. Vol. 97. 6th ed. Greensboro, NC: Friends Historical Collection, 2011).

3.3. Abraham Lincoln's Monumental and Strategic Plan

Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation (1863)²¹⁴ is considered one of the most impressive and strategic plans in American history.²¹⁵ Though American Presidents have the right to veto any laws that Congress tries to pass, they lack the power to overturn a long-standing law, such as slavery. Lincoln knew that slavery was a substantial economic force and was embedded in American society for centuries. While Lincoln himself was an anti-slave moderate; he was well aware that the American Constitution upheld slavery in some ways. He did prohibit the Congress, though, from expanding slavery into the new territories.²¹⁶ Lincoln firmly believed that Congress had the power to stop the spread of slavery altogether. On the other hand, the Supreme Court had struck down the right of slaves to become United States citizens in the Dred Scott Case (1857).²¹⁷ The Supreme Court had claimed slavery was a national Constitutional right, and the American federal government could not limit slavery in the new territories, an opinion Lincoln opposed.²¹⁸

²¹⁴ John H. Franklin *Reconstruction After the Civil War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994. 12.

²¹⁵ Michael S. Paulsen and Luke Paulsen. *The Constitution: Introduction*. Basic Books 2015. 66 Case W. Res. L. Rev. 293. 2015. 155.

²¹⁶ Michael S. Paulsen and Luke Paulsen. *The Constitution: Introduction*. Basic Books 2015. 66 Case W. Res. L. Rev. 293. 2015. 155.

²¹⁷ The Dred Scott vs. Sanford case occurred in March 1857, where Chief Justice Roger B. Taney affirmed that all blacks slave or free were never allowed to become citizens of the United States. Dred Scott, who was a former slave and lived in the free state of Illinois and free territory of Wisconsin before deciding to move back to the slave state of Missouri, appealed to the Supreme Court to try to have the court grant his freedom. The fate of Dred Scott was that we become a slave again, was bought and sold, and was treated as an ordinary article of merchandise and traffic (PBS. "Dred Scott Case: the Supreme Court decision." Accessed 29 June 2015. <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4h2933.html>).

²¹⁸ Michael S. Paulsen and Luke Paulsen. *The Constitution: Introduction*. Basic Books 2015. 66 Case W. Res. L. Rev. 293. 2015. 155.

Lincoln knew that the war gave him additional Presidential powers, which he used to make the Emancipation Proclamation (1863).²¹⁹ This document was a military order stating that Union Armies would liberate slaves because slaves were considered captured enemy property, which effectively freed the slaves. At that time, there was considerable controversy as to whether this was an appropriate use of the President's war power.²²⁰ Nevertheless, Lincoln allowed the Union armies to liberate the slaves.

Lincoln has been categorized as an anti-slave moderate, and this might be why King and Lincoln became good friends. Lincoln understood slavery needed to be stopped as quickly as possible in the South. King's Quaker and abolitionist beliefs may have fuelled Lincoln's views. Though Lincoln had used Presidential war powers to abolish slavery, he also had to get ready for the next election.

3.4. Abraham Lincoln's Abolitionist Views

To begin Reconstruction, Lincoln established governments in the South that would be loyal to the Union. Lincoln granted amnesty to many Confederates, but only if they would accept the abolition of slavery. Lincoln wanted to create a blueprint for the South after the war.

However, Lincoln never mentioned rights for newly-freed blacks. Towards the end of Lincoln's life, he called for limited black suffrage, though he singled out the "very intelligent"²²¹

²¹⁹ John H. Franklin *Reconstruction After the Civil War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994. 12.

²²⁰ President war power was a document that President Lincoln created during the American Civil War. Within the document it states that United States Presidents, who have taken the presidential oath, the Constitution's "republican guarantee," the use of necessary of war power. This gives the President unilateral powers to override civil liberties safeguards need not create a lethal threat to democratic and constitutional government (Allen C. Gueloz. *Abraham Lincoln and Development of "War Powers" of Presidency*. Gettysburg: Gettysburg College, 2007. 42-49. Accessed 7 August 2017. <http://cupola.gettysburg.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1054&context=cwfac>).

²²¹ Michael S. Paulsen and Luke Paulsen. Book Discussion on The Constitution: Introduction 2015. Philadelphia: Philadelphia National Constitution Center, 2015. 155-156.

(those who were freed before the American Civil War) and those who served as soldiers as most worthy. The abolition of slavery was one considerable change, but the South faced some challenges to rebuild their community.

3.5. North Carolina

In 1863,²²² in Washington D.C. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation (1863)²²³ was being established as a plan; while in North Carolina General Ambrose Burnside (1824-1881)²²⁴ and his Union soldiers were seizing the Outer Banks of North Carolina. Afterward, numerous coastal slaves wanted protection behind Union lines. General Burnside had Vincent Colyer (1825-1888),²²⁵ an army chaplain, put in charge of caring for the escaped slaves. Colyer had camps set up to house the escaped slaves. Many slaves were given jobs helping Union soldiers build forts.

Colyer was well aware that meeting the escaped slaves' daily, temporary needs would not be enough. These slaves needed help to prepare to live as free American citizens when the Civil War ended. The escaped slaves needed an education.²²⁶

²²² Alex Sandifer, and Berry D. Renfer. "Schools For Freed Peoples." *Tar Heels Junior Historian*. North Carolina: Tar Heel Junior Historian Association, NC Museum of History, 2003.

²²³ John H. Franklin. *Reconstruction After the Civil War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994. 12.

²²⁴ Alex Sandifer, and Berry D. Renfer. "Schools For Freed Peoples." *Tar Heels Junior Historian*. North Carolina: Tar Heel Junior Historian Association, NC Museum of History, 1997. 37.

²²⁵ Alex Sandifer, and Berry D. Renfer. "Schools For Freed Peoples." *Tar Heels Junior Historian*. North Carolina: Tar Heel Junior Historian Association, NC Museum of History, 1997. 37.

²²⁶ Alex Sandifer, and Berry D. Renfer. "Schools For Freed Peoples." *Tar Heels Junior Historian*. North Carolina: Tar Heel Junior Historian Association, NC Museum of History, 1997. 37. Accessed 7 September 2015.

Thus, on 23 July 1863,²²⁷ the first freed black school was established in North Carolina, on Roanoke Island. Shortly after the school at Roanoke Island establishment, another school in New Bern, North Carolina was opened. Union soldiers volunteered to teach in the two black schools in their free time. The extensive white non-Quaker society established two separate communities, one for whites and one for blacks. Eventually, the broader white non-Quaker community also decided to focus their attention on educating the newly-freed blacks. Besides the Quakers, other denominations, such as the Methodists were establishing black schools around North Carolina. The white non-Quaker society also decided to create two school systems, one for whites and one for blacks.

3.6. King and Lincoln

During the American Civil War, Friends carried out their business at their Yearly Meetings, held in Baltimore.²²⁸ King took an active role in these wartime issues and took many trips to Washington, D.C. representing Friends who had been drafted into the war. King spoke personally to President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton about the affairs of Friends and their religious viewpoints. Lincoln, Stanton, and the government were willing to try to accommodate these viewpoints.²²⁹

²²⁷Alex Sandifer, and Berry D. Renfer. "Schools For Freed Peoples." *Tar Heels Junior Historian*. North Carolina: Tar Heel Junior Historian Association, NC Museum of History, 1997. 37. Accessed 7 September 2015.

²²⁸ A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 9. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

²²⁹ A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 10. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

King went to Washington D.C. to take to the concerns of the Baltimore Friends about the conditions faced by Friends in the South during and after the American Civil War to President Lincoln. Impressed with King's knowledge, Lincoln asked King to keep him posted on events in the Quaker communities in the South and across America.²³⁰

King more than likely²³¹ went to Abraham Lincoln for two reasons. The first was that Washington D.C. was the seat of power and close to his home in Baltimore. The large population of Baltimore and Washington D.C. meant King could easily spread the word on the conditions of the South to his Northern brethren. The second reason that he went to speak to Abraham Lincoln is that King believed that, as president, Lincoln would have the power to make the right choices for a nation tearing itself apart and then leaving itself in ruins. King wanted Lincoln to truly understand the suffering of both Quakers and non-Quakers in the South.

President Lincoln was so impressed with King's passion and drive to help the Southern people that Lincoln gave him a travel pass,²³² which he signed. The pass gave King free access to travel between the Union (North) and Confederate States (South). King was honored to receive this pass from Lincoln.²³³

²³⁰ *Francis Thompson King His Life and Works*. 3-4. Francis T. King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

²³¹ King within his reminiscences nor any other of his own letters to people such as, Lewis Lyndon Hobbs, or any secondary resources give us any clues on why King went to see President Abraham Lincoln. We as scholars can only make our own determinations by the little evidences given to us through *Francis Thompson King His Life and Works* and *A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD*.

²³² A copy of the pass that Abraham Lincoln signed can be found in Guilford College's Historical Collection within the Francis King file (Francis T. King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.).

²³³ *Francis Thompson King His Life and Works*. 3. Francis T. King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

The willingness of President Lincoln to take time out of the business of overseeing a nation during a civil war to understand the Quakers' belief in nonviolence was a kind gesture that would have impressed King. King, being a devoted Quaker, would have spoken passionately about how the Quakers viewed the American Civil War through their testimony of nonviolence. The drafting of Quakers into the war was completely at odds with their anti-war testimony (though some Quakers were willing to take up arms to free the slaves). President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton were willing to listen to these concerns because they gave them insight into how one group of people viewed the Civil War and its physical and psychological effects on the American people. The war was being fought family member against family member and was ripping the nation apart.²³⁴

King's talks with President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton would have given them a clearer picture of the Quaker community. Though President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton would have interacted with Quakers in the government and daily life,²³⁵ they probably would not have known how Quakers used Quakerism to shape their lives. King taught President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton how Quakers lived their lives and how they viewed their social testimonies, which helped guide each Quaker through their decisions.²³⁶

²³⁴ William J., Hamilton, and J. Tracey Power. "Brother Against Brother: Alexander and James Campbell's Civil War." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 95, no. 2 (April 1994), pp. 130-141.

²³⁵ Another person that President Lincoln kept corresponds with is Elizabeth Kirkbride Gurney (Max L. Carter. "Notes And Documents Elizabeth Kirkbride Gurney's Correspondence with Abraham Lincoln: The Quaker Dilemma." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 133, no. 4 (October 2009): 389-96).

²³⁶ There is only one mention that Lincoln gives of King and The Association within a letter, which can be found in the Collection Works of Abraham Lincoln. *Lincoln, Abraham, Vol. 5 1809-1865* ("Collection Works of Abraham Lincoln." *Lincoln, Abraham, Vol. 5 1809-1865*).

Lincoln was also a sympathizer with the Quakers. Lincoln himself had a Quaker lineage in both his father and mother's side of the family although they did not practice Quakerism. Though Lincoln only acknowledged his father being a Quaker, Lincoln's mother, Nancy Hank's family lived along the border of Virginia and North Carolina in the foothills.²³⁷

Lincoln wrote to Eliza P. Gurney in September 1864, stating in his letter that he sought to do all he could to respond to Quakers' appeals of conscience openness to Friends, driven by personal affection and the "Light" in his conscience.²³⁸ President Lincoln and Francis T. King also kept in correspondence as evidence by this letter to Francis T. King, from Lincoln in January 1862,

To Francis T. King and Others,

"It gives me great pleasure to acknowledge the receipt through you of the Memorial of the English Friends, in relation to the matter in question between the Government of Great Britain and that of the United States of America. Although I trust that any fears entertained of serious derangement of our amicable relations have been without foundation. I cannot but gratefully appreciate your prompt and generous suggestions in interests of peace and humanity."²³⁹

I have the honor to be with great respect Your Obt Servt²⁴⁰

²³⁷ Abraham Lincoln to Eliza P. Gurney, Sept. 4, 1864, Abraham Lincoln Collection, Society, Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; printed in *Memoir*, 316-317 (Max L. Carter. "Notes And Documents Elizabeth Kirkbride Gurney's Correspondence with Abraham Lincoln: The Quaker Dilemma." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 133, no. 4 (October 2009): 392).

²³⁸ Seth B. Hinshaw. *The Carolina Quaker Experience, 1665-1975: An Interpretation* (Greensboro, NC, 1984), 21.

²³⁹ LS, Friends Library, Friends House, London, England. The three-page printed "Memorial of the English Friends," December 9, 1861, bears Lincoln's endorsement "Francis T. King, Baltimore," but the covering letter from King and his association is no longer in the Lincoln Papers) ("Collection Works of Abraham Lincoln." *Lincoln, Abraham, Vol. 5 1809-1865*).

²⁴⁰ Within the closing of Lincoln's letter to Francis T. King Obt Servt is short for "Your obedient servant." In the 1800s Obt Servt translated into "Sincerely" or "Best Wishes" (LS, Friends Library, Friends House, London, England. The three-page printed "Memorial of the English Friends," December 9, 1861, bears Lincoln's endorsement "Francis T. King, Baltimore," but the covering letter from King and his association is no longer in the Lincoln Papers) ("Collection Works of Abraham Lincoln." *Lincoln, Abraham, Vol. 5 1809-1865* and Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media, George Mason University. "What is that word?" from Papers of War Department 1784 to 1800).

3.7. The March to the Sea

As King was taking his concerns to President Lincoln, General William Tecumseh Sherman (1820-1891),²⁴² of the Union Army was occupying Atlanta, Georgia, until the city was set ablaze by his soldiers taking over Confederate camps on Sherman's march through the South. On November 15, 1864,²⁴³ Sherman and his 62,000²⁴⁴ soldiers started evacuating Atlanta as it burned from the bombs that were set off.²⁴⁵ The Carolinas campaign that Sherman carried forth took place three weeks after the fall of Fort McAllister on December 15, 1865,²⁴⁶ which ended the Savannah campaign.²⁴⁷

On June 28th, 1865, the newspaper *American Citizen*, reported on the capture of Fort McAllister. This report came from Sherman himself. In the article, Sherman talks about how his troops prepared.²⁴⁸ "But while watching to preparations for the assault on Fort McAllister, we discovered in the distance what seemed to be the smoke stack of a steamer, which became more and more distant, until about the very moment of the assault, she was plainly visible blow the fort, and our signal was answered."²⁴⁹

²⁴¹ LS, Friends Library, Friends House, London, England. The three-page printed "Memorial of the English Friends," December 9, 1861, bears Lincoln's endorsement "Francis T. King, Baltimore," but the covering letter from King and his association is no longer in the Lincoln Papers) ("Collection Works of Abraham Lincoln." *Lincoln, Abraham, Vol. 5 1809-1865*).

²⁴² Burke Davis. *Sherman's March*. New York: Open Road, 2016. 8.

²⁴³ From November 15, 1864 to December 21 1864 is known as Savannah Campaign though it is also known as Sherman's March to the Sea (Burke Davis, *Sherman's March*. New York: Open Road, 2016. 8).

²⁴⁴ Burke Davis. *Sherman's March*. New York: Open Road, 2016. 8.

²⁴⁵ Burke Davis. *Sherman's March*. New York: Open Road, 2016. 8.

²⁴⁶ Joseph T. Glattharr. *The March to the Sea and Beyond: Sherman's Troops in the Savannah and Carolinas Campaigns*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995. 9-10.

²⁴⁷ Joseph T. Glattharr. *The March to the Sea and Beyond: Sherman's Troops in the Savannah and Carolinas Campaigns*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995. 9-10.

²⁴⁸ "The Capture Of Fort M'Allister." *American citizen*, 28 June 1865.

²⁴⁹ "The Capture Of Fort M'Allister." *American citizen*, 28 June 1865.

General Sherman reached Goldsboro, North Carolina on March 21, 1865. On April 10, 1865, Union brevet major general Hugh Judson Kilpatrick (1834-1881)²⁵⁰ had taken control of Raleigh, the capital of North Carolina. The day before Kilpatrick took control of Raleigh, Confederate General Robert Edward Lee (1807-1870) surrendered at Appomattox Court House, located in Virginia to Union General Ulysses S. Grant (1822-1885).²⁵¹ Sherman learned of Lee's surrender on April 10, 1865.²⁵²

General Sherman's March was devastating to the Southern States including Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina. Dolly Sumner Lunt, an eye-witness, recounts²⁵³ Sherman's March to the Sea. Lunt recalls on November 19, 1865, Union soldiers entering Covington, Georgia.

"I saw some blue-coats coming down the hill. Jim immediately raised his gun, I swearing he would kill them anyhow."²⁵⁴ "No, don't! said I, and ran home as fast as I could, with Sadai."²⁵⁵ Lunt has also called Sherman's March to the Sea, "scorched earth"²⁵⁶ due to the mass destruction Sherman and his soldiers left in their wake.

Francis T. King was greatly concerned about with the Southern Quakers left in North Carolina after Sherman's March to the Sea. One primary reason Francis T. King needed and

²⁵⁰ Joseph T. Glattharr. *The March to the Sea and Beyond: Sherman's Troops in the Savannah and Carolinas Campaigns*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995. 13.

²⁵¹ Joseph T. Glattharr. *The March to the Sea and Beyond: Sherman's Troops in the Savannah and Carolinas Campaigns*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995. 13.

²⁵² Joseph T. Glattharr. *The March to the Sea and Beyond: Sherman's Troops in the Savannah and Carolinas Campaigns*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995. 13.

²⁵³ Dolly Sumner Lunt was born in 1817 in Main. As a young woman she moved to Georgia. Lunt became a school teacher in Covington, Georgia. Lunt married Thomas Burge, who was a plantation owner. In 1858 Burge died and Lunt was left to tend both the plantation and its slaves alone (Dolly Sumner Lunt. "An Account of the Passage Over a Georgia Plantation of Sherman's Army on the March to the Sea, as Recorded in the Diary of Dolly Sumner Lunt." *Century Magazine*, 1888. 5).

²⁵⁴ Dolly Sumner Lunt. "An Account of the Passage Over a Georgia Plantation of Sherman's Army on the March to the Sea, as Recorded in the Diary of Dolly Sumner Lunt." *Century Magazine*, 1888. 9.

²⁵⁵ Dolly Sumner Lunt, "An Account of the Passage Over a Georgia Plantation of Sherman's Army on the March to the Sea, as Recorded in the Diary of Dolly Sumner Lunt." *Century Magazine*, 1888. 2.

²⁵⁶ Dolly Sumner Lunt. "An Account of the Passage Over a Georgia Plantation of Sherman's Army on the March to the Sea, as Recorded in the Diary of Dolly Sumner Lunt." *Century Magazine*, 1888. 1.

wanted the travel from President Lincoln was so that he and his colleagues of The Association could get aid to the Southern Quakers.²⁵⁷

In 1864, Baltimore Friends started to help North Carolina Friends and other Southern Friends travel to the west, though King believed that a different kind of help was needed. King was convinced the best way to help was not to facilitate their departure but help them [North Carolina Quakers] rebuild their communities and their economy, through education for the children and improvement of their lands.²⁵⁸

In 1864, Francis T. King took on a leadership role because of the needs of North Carolina Quakers, who were fleeing North Carolina due to the advance of Sherman's army. Additionally, Francis T. King and John R. Crenshaw, a Richmond, Virginia Friend, went into Goldsboro, North Carolina. They brought with them in cash three thousand dollars, flour, bacon, and other goods to give to Contentnea Quarter centered at Goldsboro. Twelve to fifteen thousand dollars in cash was contributed to Western Quarter, which was near Greensboro, North Carolina. This money was to help Western Quarter Meeting feed its members.²⁵⁹ "We can have twenty thousand dollars for our Friends if necessary. Great questions are to be considered, emigration, etc. We have hundreds passing through here [Baltimore] to the west...we can help them better here."²⁶⁰

²⁵⁷ Francis T. King folder (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

²⁵⁸ Barbara C. Mallonee, Jane Karkalits Bonny, Nicholas B. Fessenden. *Minute By Minute A History of the Baltimore Monthly Meetings of Friends Homewood and Stony Run*. The Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, Stony Run. 1992. 81.

²⁵⁹ Barbara C. Mallonee, Jane Karkalits Bonny, Nicholas B. Fessenden. *Minute By Minute A History of the Baltimore Monthly Meetings of Friends Homewood and Stony Run*. The Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, Stony Run. 1992. 80.

²⁶⁰ Barbara C. Mallonee, Jane Karkalits Bonny, Nicholas B. Fessenden. *Minute By Minute A History of the Baltimore Monthly Meetings of Friends Homewood and Stony Run*. The Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, Stony Run. 1992. 81.

Francis T. King and John R. Crenshaw went to Contentnea Quakers at Goldsboro around the same time General Sherman and his soldiers would have taken control of in Goldsboro, North Carolina in 1864,²⁶¹ leaving many white non-Quakers and Quakers to flee. This why Francis T. King and his colleague, John R. Crenshaw had brought items such as bacon, flour, and money to the Contentnea Quakers living in Goldsboro, North Carolina in 1864.²⁶²

A report sent to Newbern, N.C. on April 15, 1865, by the Superintendent of the railroad and resided in Goldsboro broke the news that Gov. Vance²⁶³ was apprehended by Sherman's cavalry between Hillsboro and Raleigh on the 13th of April 1865. Gov. Vance was henceforth sent to Sherman's location in Hillsboro, North Carolina by Johnston.²⁶⁴ Gov. Vance's job was to surrender the state of North Carolina to Sherman. However, Vance's meeting with Sherman never took place, and Vance was returned to Johnston by Sherman's army after being captured. Shortly after Vance's capture, Jeff Davis and his family met Johnston in Hillsboro.²⁶⁵

Since Vance did not do as he was commanded by Johnston to surrender North Carolina to Sherman, Vance became a prisoner of war. Additionally, the *Baltimore Sun* states that Sherman

²⁶¹ General Sherman reached Goldsboro, North Carolina on March 21, 1864 (Joseph T. Glattharr. *The March to the Sea and Beyond: Sherman's Troops in the Savannah and Carolinas Campaigns*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995. 13).

²⁶² Barbara C. Mallonee, Jane Karkalits Bonny, Nicholas B. Fessenden. Minute By Minute A History of the Baltimore Monthly Meetings of Friends Homewood and Stony Run. The Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, Stony Run. 1992. 81.

²⁶³ Governor Vance full name was – Zebulon Baird Vance (May 13, 1830-April 14, 1894). During American Civil War Vance was a Confederate military officer. Vance was the 37th and 43rd Govern of North Carolina and a U.S. Senator (Gordon B. McKinney. *Zeb Vance: North Carolina's Civil War Governor And Gilded Age Political Leader*. N.d.: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004. 1, 9, 49).

²⁶⁴ Joseph Eggleston Johnston (February 3, 1807- March 22, 1891) was a Confederate general during the American Civil War. Johnston and Jefferson Davis had a long-standing feud, which made Johnston not a great military leader. In February 1865 Johnston took his army into North Carolina. Johnston and his army successful held black General William T. Sherman's army at Bentonville in March. However, on April 26, 1865, Johnston had to surrender to Sherman at Durham Station, North Carolina due to not having enough supplies or soldiers. During the American Reconstruction era Johnston was a US House of Representatives (1871-1881). In 1885 Johnston became US commissioner of the railroads ("Joseph E. Johnston." Encyclopedia Britannica. Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc. April 20, 2017. Accessed November 28, 2017).

²⁶⁵ Hillsboro is about thirty miles west of Raleigh NC. (A.S. Abell &Co. "From North Carolina Capture of Gov. Vance—Johnston Surrenders the State of North Carolina, but Jeff. Davis Countermands the Order." *Baltimore Sun*. April 20, 1865).

and his army had entered the city of Raleigh a couple of days since. Sherman and his army were continuing forward as Johnston, and his army kept retreating without fighting.²⁶⁶

Three years later, Francis T. King would speak about Sherman's March at the 22nd Meeting of the Friends' Peace Association that was reprinted in the *The Weekly North-Carolina Standard (Raleigh, N.C.)* on 28 Oct. 1868 from the *Baltimore Sun*, King's thought about Sherman's March.²⁶⁷

King turned his attention to North Carolina when Sherman's army was getting close to Raleigh, and Johnston's²⁶⁸ army was moving towards the Friends settlement. Both Sherman's and Johnston's armies were not forty miles apart from the Friends settlement. The Friends were anticipating enduring the clash from the position of their colony, but the impending battle was averted. "The two-hundred-year peace principles had been maintained that the great war²⁶⁹ was ended."²⁷⁰ The American Civil War was not over yet, but it was over for the Quakers. "King said he believed the question of war and peace will be the great question hereafter in the churches, in politics, and in society."²⁷¹

²⁶⁶ A.S. Abell & Co. "From North Carolina Capture of Gov. Vance—Johnston Surrenders the State of North Carolina, but Jeff. Davis Countermands the Order." *Baltimore Sun*. April 20, 1865.

²⁶⁷ "From the Baltimore Sun, 22d Meeting of the Friends' Peace Association—Speech by John B. Crenshaw and others." *The Weekly North-Carolina Standard (Raleigh, N.C.)* 28 Oct. 1868.

²⁶⁸ This reference of spelling of Johnson's is misspelling it is actually spelled [Johnston].

²⁶⁹ In context of this article 'the great war' means the American Civil War (April 12, 1861 - May 9, 1865). It would not be until after World War I (July 28 1914- November 11, 1918) would become known as 'The Great War' or 'The War to End All Wars' ("The War to End All Wars." *BBC News*. 10 November 1998. Accessed 28 November 2017).

²⁷⁰ "From the Baltimore Sun, 22d Meeting of the Friends' Peace Association—Speech by John B. Crenshaw and others." *The Weekly North-Carolina Standard (Raleigh, N.C.)* 28 Oct. 1868.

²⁷¹ "From the Baltimore Sun, 22d Meeting of the Friends' Peace Association—Speech by John B. Crenshaw and others." *The Weekly North-Carolina Standard (Raleigh, N.C.)* 28 Oct. 1868.

3.8. Chapter Summary

This chapter has introduced a variety of aspects of America during the Civil War. In 1862, the Quakers set up the Freedmen's Association to create schools for freed Blacks. Lincoln had a plan to help end the war and free the slaves by creating the Emancipation Proclamation (1863).²⁷² This chapter also explored Francis T. King going to President Abraham Lincoln and has explained the conditions and plight of the Southern Quakers during the American Civil War. Lincoln kept in correspondence with Francis T. King and Eliza P. Gurney on the conditions of the Southern Quaker communities and the South. The chapter concluded with a description of Sherman's March to the Sea.

²⁷² John H. Franklin. *Reconstruction After the Civil War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994. 12.

Chapter 4

Reconstruction

4.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the situation of those in the South just after the end of the war, the creation by Congress of the Freedmen's Bureau, Quaker migration from North Carolina to the Mid-Western States before the American Civil War and how The Baltimore Association to Advise and Assist Friends in the Southern States pursued a counter-tendency. The white population's work to introduce a segregated schooling system is reviewed. The chapter also outlines how a new type of agriculture, – crop rotation-was -used to improve crops grown to feed the starving Southern people in North Carolina, both Quaker and non-Quaker, during Reconstruction. The workings of the system of sharecropping and tenant farming in North Carolina and the other Southern states in America will be carefully investigated. The chapter gives evidence on how the vast white-non-Quaker community was not as accepting of change as many in the Quaker community. Additionally, The Black Codes created a new form of segregation.

4.2. The South During Reconstruction

After the American Civil War, the South's economic situation looked bleak. The war had taken an enormous toll on the land and resources, and there was no money to help the local people rebuild. The only solution many people saw was to migrate out of the Southern states, to the Northern and

Midwestern states. However, some people stayed and tried to rebuild with what few resources they had.²⁷³

Albion Tourgee, a North Carolina Unionist, wrote, “The North thinks the Southern people are especially angry because of the loss of slave property.”²⁷⁴ Numerous Southerners wondered how to create a new system of labor to replace slavery. Slavery was so ingrained in their society that plantation owners would not be able to run their farms without slavery. Though the plantation owners tried several methods to reinstate control over the newly-freed slaves, they were greatly disappointed to find that the newly-freed slaves believed that their freedom should also come with economic autonomy.²⁷⁵

Countless former slaves firmly believed that the years of tending the fields and unrewarded labor gave them a claim to the land. Newly-freed, their rally cry became, “forty acres and a mule.”²⁷⁶ The American Federal Government decided not to step in and redistribute land in the South so very few freed slaves became landowners. Most newly-freed blacks rented land or worked for wages on white-owned plantations.²⁷⁷

²⁷³ Ronald E. Butchart, and Amy F. Roller. *Secondary Education and Emancipation: Secondary Schools for Freed Slaves in the American South, 1862-1875*. Vol. 40. Georgia: Pedagogical Historical: International Journal of the History of Education, 2006. 157.

²⁷⁴ Philip Dray. *Capitol Men: The Epic Story of Reconstruction Through the Lives of the First Black Congressmen*. New York: Mariner, 2010. XI.

²⁷⁵ CCBC Faculty Web. “Background for reconstruction in the south” 2013. 7.

²⁷⁶ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "Free Labour." Section 3. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 1995. 1.

²⁷⁷ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "Free Labour." Section 3. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 1995. 1.

In South Carolina, though, on the Sea Islands, the newly-freed slaves did demand land of their own.²⁷⁸ There, the governmental officials and the Northern investors tried their best to get the newly-freed slaves to continue working on the plantations.²⁷⁹

Every community in the South struggled to rebuild after the American Civil War. During this time, personal journals were written by different people in both the Quaker society and white non-Quaker community. The Henry family, William and his wife Cornelia Catherine Smith Henry, wrote down the experiences of life right after the American Civil War.²⁸⁰ Most of the accounts are about mundane everyday life: for example, Cornelia writes in her journal, “January Monday 2nd – Very cold & disagreeable but fair wind from the South.”²⁸¹

William L. Henry had survived in the American Civil War after being a Captain of the Local Home Guard in the Confederate military. Henry had seen the mass devastation that the war had done to North Carolina. William L. Henry and Cornelia Catherine Smith Henry owned a farm until he could no longer keep up payments and lost it in 1865.²⁸²

While Henry was in battle, there are accounts of his wife Cornelia Catherine Smith Henry, trying to take care of their children, nine boys, and three girls. Only eight survived to adulthood. Cornelia and Henry owned a boarding house where Cornelia took care of the daily chores and took

²⁷⁸ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "Free Labour." Section 3. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 1995. 1.

²⁷⁹ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "Free Labour." Section 3. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 1995. 1.

²⁸⁰ “Tuesday 3rd – A little more moderate than yes'day. Fair winds variable.” From “Western North Carolina: A History 1730-1913” in ‘the Henry Family’ Clinard, Karen L., and Richard Russell. Ed. *Fear in North Carolina, The Civil War Journals of the Henry Family*. Asheville: Edwards Brothers, Incorporated, 1980. 2.

²⁸¹ From “Western North Carolina: A History 1730-1913” in ‘the Henry Family’ Clinard, Karen L., and Richard Russell. Ed. *Fear in North Carolina, The Civil War Journals of the Henry Family*. Asheville: Edwards Brothers, Incorporated, 1980. 2.

²⁸² From “Western North Carolina: A History 1730-1913” in ‘the Henry Family’ Clinard, Karen L., and Richard Russell. Ed. *Fear in North Carolina, The Civil War Journals of the Henry Family*. Asheville: Edwards Brothers, Incorporated, 1980. 3.

care of slaves and boarding visitors. Although William L. Henry and Cornelia Catherine Smith Henry had slaves for many years before losing their farm and then owning a boarding house, Cornelia hardly ever called the servants “slaves,” but instead used the term “negroes.”²⁸³

Throughout, the Henry family’s journals speak of how this one family dealt with the changes during and post-American Civil War during the American Reconstruction period. Many other Southern white non-Quaker families had many similar experiences to those that the Henry family went through at this moment in American history.²⁸⁴

Many families had lost fathers, sons, and friends in the war. Whole families were devastated and broken when it was time to rebuild a unified country. Also, many questions lingered in the South. John H. Franklin, in his book *Reconstruction After the Civil War*, examines some of these questions. Numerous ex-Confederate soldiers and sympathizers wondered if black people would still be willing to work now that they were free. If so, would they want to work alongside the whites who had enslaved them for so long?²⁸⁵ Other people worried that the freed slaves would take jobs that could go to the white population.

In fact, many freedmen²⁸⁶ worked in the same fields, on the same plantations, and lived in the same homes that they did when they were enslaved. However, this time they worked more as equals to their white counterparts. One freedman, Leon Litwack writes, “Even as they toiled in the same fields, performed the familiar tasks, and returned at dusk to the same cabins, scores of

²⁸³ From “Western North Carolina: A History 1730-1913” in ‘the Henry Family’ Clinard, Karen L., and Richard Russell. Ed. *Fear in North Carolina, The Civil War Journals of the Henry Family*. Asheville: Edwards Brothers, Incorporated, 1980. 4.

²⁸⁴ Many of the journal entries within the Henry family journals are about everyday activities from household duties and the family trying to rebuild their own lives that the American Civil War left them in.

²⁸⁵ John H. Franklin. *Reconstruction After the Civil War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.4-5.

²⁸⁶ Daniel A. Novak. *The Wheel of Servitude, Black Forced Labor after Slavery*. “The Freedmen’s Bureau and the Army.” Lexington: Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky.1978. 14.

freedmen refused to resign themselves to the permanent status of a landless agricultural working class.”²⁸⁷

On the other hand, there were very few jobs available during Reconstruction. Most Southern people were farmers before the American Civil War, and afterward, though the South was in ruins, the fields still needed tending to bring back the crops that had been destroyed. As a result, many people, white and black, kept working on the same land and living in the same houses. The Southern people quickly learned that they needed to work together to rejuvenate the land and raise their spirits.²⁸⁸

While Reconstruction was happening, many small farmers became impoverished. After the American Civil War, small farmers started focusing their attention on growing cotton. Before the American Civil War, cotton had been a lucrative business, and some plantation owners had gained most of their wealth from growing this crop, using slave labor to tend to the cotton fields. Most small farmers before the outbreak of the American Civil War, though, focused on growing enough food to sustain their own families.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁷ John H. Franklin. *Reconstruction After the Civil War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994. 6.

²⁸⁸ John H. Franklin. *Reconstruction After the Civil War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994. 6.

²⁸⁹ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "Free Labour." Section 3. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc1995. 1.

4.3. The Creation of the Freedmen's Bureau

On 3 March 1865,²⁹⁰ the Freedmen's Bureau²⁹¹ was created by Congress, under the United States War Department. This certified the employment of assistant commissioners to aid the commissioner in the supervision of the Freedmen's Bureau's work within the former Confederate States of America, the Border States, and the District of Columbia. While the work was done by the assistant commissioners in each state was similar, the organizational structure of staff officers differed from state to state. At any given time, the staff in each state consisted of: a superintendent of education, an assistant adjutant general, an assistant inspector general, a chief medical officer, a chief quartermaster, and a commissary of subsistence. Secondary to these officers were assistant superintendents (later known as sub-assistant commissioners), who directed the sub-districts.²⁹² Congress laid down the Freedmen's Bureau responsibilities to aid Reconstruction in the South. Congress asked the Freedmen's Bureau to focus on helping the newly-freed slaves, but this organization had other tasks as well.

²⁹⁰ Daniel A. Novak. *The Wheel of Servitude, Black Forced Labor after Slavery*. "The Freedmen's Bureau and the Army." Lexington: Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky. 1978. 14.

²⁹¹ The Freedmen's Bureau was a United States of American government agency, which helped freed blacks make the transition to live as freed United States citizen. Also to assist the "industrial, social, intellectual, moral and religious improvement of the black persons who were released from slavery (Alex Sandifer, and Berry D. Renfer. *Tar Heels Junior Historian*. North Carolina: Tar Heel Junior Historian Association, /NC Museum of History, 2003.)

²⁹² *Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, And Abandoned Lands 1865-1872*. Records Of The Field Offices For The State of Virginia. United States Congress and National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC. 2006. (14 Stat.173), 1.

The Freedmen's Bureau supervised and managed all matters that related to white refugees and assisting freedmen.²⁹³ The Freedmen's Bureau aimed to provide relief and help the freedmen become self-sufficient.²⁹⁴ Plus, the Freedmen's Bureau oversaw lands that were abandoned or seized during the American Civil War.

Officials of the Freedmen's Bureau rationed food and clothes to both whites and blacks. They operated hospitals and refugee camps, supervised labor contracts, and managed apprenticeship disagreements and complaints. They also assisted benevolent societies with the establishment of black schools. Officials of the Freedmen's Bureau helped the freedmen legalize marriages, which coexisted under slavery.²⁹⁵

The Freedmen's Bureau also provided transportation for refugees and freedmen who were struggling to reunite with their families or relocate to other parts of the United States of America. Furthermore, the Freedmen's Bureau helped black soldiers, sailors, and their heirs collect bounty claims, pensions, and back pay.²⁹⁶ The Freedmen's Bureau also negotiated labor contracts between white farmers and the former black slaves who helped work their fields, as well as helping to settle disagreements between blacks and whites.

It was the Freedmen's Bureau's job to help the newly-freed blacks become self-sufficient and incorporate them into the new labor system. Thousands of freedmen had crossed over the

²⁹³ Freedmen is another name for former slaves (*Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, And Abandoned Lands 1865-1872*. Records Of The Field Offices For The State of Virginia. United States Congress and National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC. 2006. (14 Stat.173), 1.

²⁹⁴ *Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, And Abandoned Lands 1865-1872*. Records Of The Field Offices For The State of Virginia. United States Congress and National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC. 2006. (14 Stat.173), 1.

²⁹⁵ Robert W. Fogel. *Without Consent Or Contract: The Rise and Fall of American Slavery*. New York: Norton & Company Ltd., 1994. 18.

²⁹⁶ *Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, And Abandoned Lands 1865-1872*. Records Of The Field Offices For The State of Virginia. United States Congress and National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC. 2006. 1.

Northern lines into the Union during the American Civil War. These freedmen also searched out support from the Freedmen's Bureau after the war.

The American Federal Government was determined to decrease dependency on government aid. Instead, the Freedmen's Bureau provided transportation for both whites and blacks, who could not find work where they lived. For example, there was a significant demand for labor in the larger urban cities; transportation was accessible for both²⁹⁷ whites and blacks to locations where work was available.

The non-disabled freedmen who did not apply for transportation would be cut off from receiving rations. With labor agreements through the Freedmen's Bureau, working freedmen would receive rations, but no clothing, and wages averaging \$9 per month.²⁹⁸ In some places such as Virginia and North Carolina, though, newly-freed blacks were sharecroppers who received a share of the crops they grew. However, with limited employment, (especially during the winter months), low wages, insufficient crop shares and the failure of the local officials to provide for the poor, the newly-freed blacks were continually dependent upon the Freedmen's Bureau for survival.²⁹⁹

Immediately after the start of the Freedmen's Bureau, the demand for work elevated. Subsequently, the American Civil War had ravaged the rural planting soil which left many Southern whites and blacks with no viable land to produce food. While the Quaker community

²⁹⁷*Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, And Abandoned Lands 1865-1872*. Records Of The Field Offices For The State of Virginia. United States Congress and National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC. 2006. 4.

²⁹⁸ *Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, And Abandoned Lands 1865-1872*. Records Of The Field Offices For The State of Virginia. United States Congress and National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC. 2006. 4.

²⁹⁹Senate Ex. Doc. 6, Serial Vol. 1276, 161-162; Annual Reports, Virginia, October 8, 1867, [pp.4-8], and October 19, 1868, [pp.12-14] (*Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, And Abandoned Lands 1865-1872*. Records Of The Field Offices For The State of Virginia. United States Congress and National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC. 2006. 4).

within North Carolina tried their best to stay on their lands and rebuild, many non-Quaker whites and blacks decided to move into large cities for jobs because there were not enough jobs on the farms.

Since the American Federal Government was determined to decrease the dependency on government aid, the Freedmen's Bureau had to re-examine the way they were trying to help the newly-freed blacks and Southern whites. The next action taken by the Freedmen's Bureau was to force the able-bodied blacks out of the areas where they lived. Although the Bureau relocated blacks to where jobs were available, it did not seem logical to cut them off from receiving rations. If a person does not have enough to eat and is lethargic, they will be unable to work and will not have enough energy to look for jobs anywhere, either in the rural farmlands or urban cities.³⁰⁰ The Freedmen's Bureau forcing of able-bodied blacks out the areas in which they were living took away their civil rights as Paul Alan Cimbala and Randall M. Miller state.³⁰¹

The American Civil War was fought to help liberate the blacks from the bondage of slavery and make them freed people, but most Reconstruction scholars such as Douglas R. Egerton believes that both were a disaster. Therefore, Congress created the Freedmen's Bureau.³⁰²

However, Berry A. Crouch states in his work³⁰³ that when the Freedmen's Bureau was created by Congress, the idea was to help the newly-freed blacks achieve independence. Although

³⁰⁰ *Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, And Abandoned Lands 1865-1872*. Records Of The Field Offices For The State of Virginia. United States Congress and National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC. 2006. 1-2.

³⁰¹ Paul A. Cimbala, and Randall M. Miller. *The Freedmen's Bureau and Reconstruction: Reconsiderations*. New York: Fordham University Press, 1999. 4.

³⁰² Eric Foner. "Liberated and Unfree." *The New York Times* (January 31, 2014).

³⁰³ Berry A. Crouch. "The Freedmen's Bureau in Texas: A Historiographical Appraisal," *The Freedmen's Bureau and Black Texans*. Austin: University of Texas, 1992. 1.

this meant that the newly-freed blacks had to be relocated to find jobs; as stated by Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney in their book , thus many blacks benefited from the relocation.³⁰⁴

A sharp contrast to the idea of the formulation of the Freedmen's Bureau comes from people like Congressman Thomas D. Eliot in 1863, who believed that the Bureau's existence and work conflicted with the Treasury and War departments, which controlled aiding the newly-freed blacks.³⁰⁵ Others like George R. Bentley state that the creation of the Bureau was another tool of Radical Republicans, who were speaking "too much for the Negro too soon."³⁰⁶

Though the newly-freed blacks tried to create independent communities, they had few options outside of the Freedmen's Bureau for survival. Life in the America at this time was difficult for both whites and blacks, mainly as they were mostly rural farmers. Everyone relied on having a good harvest to sustain his or her families through the winter months.³⁰⁷

One scholar, John A. Carpenter, defended the work the Freedmen's Bureau accomplished.³⁰⁸ Carpenter believed that in the Bureau's short lifespan they achieved much and did many good works for the newly-freed blacks even though there were many obstacles the Bureau had to overcome.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁴ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "Free Labour." Section 3.. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc.1995. 1.

³⁰⁵ Berry A. Crouch. "The Freedmen's Bureau in Texas: A Historiographical Appraisal," *The Freedmen's Bureau and Black Texans*. Austin: University of Texas, 1992. 1.

³⁰⁶ Berry A. Crouch. , "The Freedmen's Bureau in Texas: A Historiographical Appraisal," *The Freedmen's Bureau and Black Texans*. Austin: University of Texas, 1992. 4.

³⁰⁷ *Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, And Abandoned Lands 1865-1872*. Records Of The Field Offices For The State of Virginia. United States Congress and National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC. 2006. 1-2.

³⁰⁸ Berry A. Crouch, "The Freedmen's Bureau in Texas: A Historiographical Appraisal," *The Freedmen's Bureau and Black Texans*. Austin: University of Texas, 1992. 4.

³⁰⁹ Berry A. Crouch, "The Freedmen's Bureau in Texas: A Historiographical Appraisal," *The Freedmen's Bureau and Black Texans*. Austin: University of Texas, 1992. 4.

William S. McFeely believes that Oliver Otis Howard's³¹⁰ positive examination of The Freedmen's Bureau creates a misunderstanding of the conflict the Freedmen's Bureau caused for both the American Federal Government and the newly-freed blacks. McFeely believed that the Freedmen's Bureau was an exercise in "naivete and misunderstanding, timidity, misplaced faith, disloyalty to subordinates who were loyal to the freedmen, and an attempt to diminish the Negroes' aspirations."³¹¹

Many American Reconstruction scholars have looked unfavorably on The Freedmen's Bureau's work, a view held by the broader white non-Quaker community of the time. Shortly after the Freedmen's Bureau was established and working in the Southern States, the considerable white non-Quaker community became concerned with their activities.³¹²

Scholars like Cimbala and Miller agree that the Freedmen's Bureau was not successful because the group did not achieve a revolution in social and economic relationships between whites and blacks.³¹³

The Freedmen's Bureau's works were controversial and unpopular especially around education. Freedmen's aid societies such as the American Missionary Association, the New York National Freedmen's Relief Association, the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, the American Baptist Home Mission Society, the Friend's Freedmen's Relief Association, and the American

³¹⁰ Oliver Otis Howard, "The Freedmen's Bureau in Texas: A Historiographical Appraisal," *The Freedmen's Bureau and Black Texans*. Austin: University of Texas, 1992. 4.

³¹¹ Berry A. Crouch, "The Freedmen's Bureau in Texas: A Historiographical Appraisal," *The Freedmen's Bureau and Black Texans*. Austin: University of Texas, 1992. 4.

³¹² *Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, And Abandoned Lands 1865-1872*. Records Of The Field Offices For The State of Virginia. United States Congress and National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC. 2006. 1-2.

³¹³ Paul A. Cimbala, and Randall M. Miller. *The Freedmen's Bureau and Reconstruction: Reconsiderations*. New York: Fordham University Press, 1999. 4.

Freedmen's Union Commission recruited a large number of teachers from the North. Also, recruited were white and black teachers from the Southern white, non-Quaker areas.³¹⁴

For example, a large number of whites and blacks taught in the Freedmen's schools in Georgia. These teachers may not have had the higher levels of education to support their teaching abilities that the Northern teachers had the opportunity to receive, but these different groups of teachers worked together to teach the newly-freed black children and adults. Some newly-freed blacks also taught in the black schools in North Carolina alongside the Northern and Quaker teachers.³¹⁵

4.4. Quaker Migration

During the early nineteenth century, Friends migrated from North Carolina to eastern Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Iowa and even farther into the other Mid-Western States.³¹⁶ Many non-Quakers followed suit and left the South because of their religious beliefs about slavery. The Quakers' stance on antislavery included Quakers helping slaves escape to the Free States.³¹⁷ Throughout their history, some prominent Quakers broke the law to follow their Inward Light, like the Pennsylvanian and North Carolina Quakers who operated the Underground Railroad, which started

³¹⁴ *Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, And Abandoned Lands 1865-1872*. Records Of The Field Offices For The State of Virginia. United States Congress and National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC. 2006. 1-2.

³¹⁵ *Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, And Abandoned Lands 1865-1872*. Records Of The Field Offices For The State of Virginia. United States Congress and National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC. 2006. 1-2.

³¹⁶ Fergus Bordewich. *Bound for Canaan*. "The Hand Of God In North Carolina." New York: Amistad, 2005. 71-73).

³¹⁷ Damon D. Hickey. "Pioneers Of The New South: The Baltimore Association And North Carolina Friends In Reconstruction. *Quaker History* Vol. 72. Spring 1983. Friends Historical Association. 1.

in 1819.³¹⁸ On the other hand, not all Quakers believed in breaking the law to make changes within society.

When the American Civil War was about to break out, the Quakers had another burden to face, that of war, since Quakers were conscientious objectors to military service. A significant blow to Friends in Goldsboro, North Carolina was when Sherman's army invaded. Many Quakers fled towards to the Midwestern area by way of Baltimore.³¹⁹

4.5. The Creation of the Association

Francis T. King opposed the migration of Southern Friends into the Northern and Midwestern states. King personally believed if the Southern people left the South, then the South as a whole may not be able to be rebuilt after the war was over. During this time, vast numbers of people were leaving the South. People from other parts of the country, like Addison Coffin,³²⁰ were encouraging and even helping people leave the South. King, though, stood up and said that the migration of people out of the South had to be stopped, a statement which made him a radical individual. His courageous stand against the migration of Southern people showed that he upheld the Quaker testimony of integrity, even when it seemed like most of the Southern people had given

³¹⁸ As a side note both Quakers and non-Quakers from the South, North, and Midwestern States had been helping runaway slaves escape slavery before the estimated date of when the Underground Railroad was first said to have been first in operation (Fergus Bordewich. *Bound for Canaan*. "The Hand Of God In North Carolina." New York: Amistad, 2005. 71).

³¹⁹ Damon D. Hickey. "Pioneers Of The New South: The Baltimore Association And North Carolina Friends In Reconstruction. *Quaker History* Vol. 72. Spring 1983. Friends Historical Association. 1.

³²⁰ Addison Coffin (1821-1897) was a Quaker who was born at New Garden, which is now at Guilford College. He was the son of Vestal and Alethea Fluke Coffin. Addison Coffin was deeply influence by his cousin Levi Coffin becoming involved with the abolition movement. Addison Coffin was forming emigrant trains connected to the railways "known as Coffin's trains," that would take people living in North Carolina and South Carolina to the Midwestern States of America, where many people had already moved pre-American Civil War ("Addison Coffin." William Stevens Powell. 1979. *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979. 393. *eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost)*, EBSCOhost (accessed 29 January, 2015).

up hope of even trying to rebuild the South. Plus, King also believed that the Southern people needed to try to keep a foothold in the communities that they had created, that all they needed was help from Northern people, such as the Quakers and others to be able to get through the American Civil War.

The Association was formed in 1865,³²¹ when Baltimore Friends witnessed the mass migration of Southern Friends coming through Baltimore, headed towards the Northern and Midwestern states. The Baltimore Friends believed that if they could aid the Southern Friends and help rebuild their communities, the South could flourish again.³²² In Baltimore, 10th Month 13th Day, 1869,³²³ The Association spoke to the Elders and other members of Baltimore Yearly Meeting on establishing schools for the freedmen in Maryland.³²⁴

Damon D. Hickey states that Francis T. King and The Association were only formed to help give aid to the Southern Quakers, who were passing through the area.³²⁵ King and The Association made many trips down to North Carolina to help the Quakers, who had remained during the Civil War such as Nereus Mendenhall, his family, Johnathon and Elizabeth Cox, and the students at New Garden Boarding School. This meant that Hickey does not adequately acknowledge the extent of King's reasoning on creating the Association, which was to fully aid North Carolina on helping them rebuild their communities, rebuilding agriculture, and creating a new public school system in North Carolina.

³²¹"King, Francis Thompson 1819-189," flash card. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

³²² *Francis Thompson King His Life and Works*. 4. N.d. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

³²³ *Baltimore Yearly Meeting Minutes*. Baltimore: Baltimore, 1869. 13.

³²⁴ The use of "Freedman Coloured People" was an all-encompassing term used to talk about all freed black people, men, women, and children (*Baltimore Yearly Meeting Minutes*. Baltimore: Baltimore, 1869. 11).

³²⁵ Damon D. Hickey. "Pioneers Of The New South: The Baltimore Association And North Carolina Friends In Reconstruction. *Quaker History* Vol. 72. Spring 1983. Friends Historical Association. 1-2.

The Baltimore Association of Friends to Advise and Assist Friends in the Southern States was created to provide physical relief to Quaker refugees, who were passing through Baltimore to reach the Midwestern states. The Association provided clothes and food to the Quakers, who passed by. It would not be until shortly after The American Reconstruction started that King's colleagues of The Association would journey down into North Carolina to better assist King in helping the Southern Quakers, non-Quakers, and blacks.³²⁶

4.6. Separate Educational Systems

King, The Association, and numerous other Quakers would not have agreed with having two separate educational systems.³²⁷ Separating blacks and whites in different school buildings upheld segregation within North Carolina and the South.

In the 19th century, the Quakers had a testimony for the education of blacks but still believed in the separation of whites and blacks, which a sizable portion of white Quakers supported. Why, then, did King, The Association, and other Quakers uphold the separation between whites and blacks by helping to create black communities and black schools? At this point, the American government and the new Reconstruction laws blocked progress and the creation of an equal and integrated school system for both whites and blacks.

³²⁶ Damon D. Hickey. "Pioneers Of The New South: The Baltimore Association And North Carolina Friends In Reconstruction. *Quaker History* Vol. 72. Spring 1983. Friends Historical Association. 1-2.

³²⁷ During Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1858 acknowledged the difference of educational systems for the blacks and whites, but the members of the meetings says they sees this in conflict of their own testimonies of equality and integrity. (Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. *The Appeal of the Religious Society of Friends In Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, etc., the their fellow-citizens of the United States on behalf of the coloured races*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Friends' Book-Store, 1858. 6).

King and The Association had to create two separate school systems because of legislation such as the Black Codes.³²⁸ In addition, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), the Red Shirts, and other Confederate sympathizers tried to interrupt the progress of the Quakers, Northerners, white non-Quakers, and the newly-freed blacks, who were trying to rebuild the South and create school systems. The decisions to create two school systems came from the sizeable white-non-Quaker community to try to lessen the tensions between the whites and blacks. The Quakers followed suit to try to keep the peace while they continued to help rebuild North Carolina and the South.³²⁹

King and The Association's leading goal when it came to rebuilding North Carolina was to help the general population, starting with their community, the Quakers. Then they would expand to the broader community and the newly-freed blacks. King and The Association were not out to break the law to rebuild North Carolina but to work within the system, which meant that they had no choice but to make separate schools for whites and blacks. Instead of following the Quaker testimonies wholeheartedly, which would have guided them to integrate the public school system right away, King and The Association helped create two separate public school systems.

³²⁸ During the beginning of the American Reconstruction The Black Codes (1865-1866) were laws that were established and passed within the Southern States of America. These laws were aimed to limit the newly freed slave's freedom. Also, it was to make the freed slaves work in a labor economy, which were based on low wages or debt (Paula S. Rotherberg. *Race, Class, Gender in United States: An Integrated Study*. "Black Codes." W.E.B. DuBois. New York: Worth Publishers, 2004. 475).

³²⁹ Linda B. Selleck. *Gentle Invaders Quaker Women Educators and Racial Issues During the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Richmond: Friends United Press, 1995. 63-67.

4.7. The Association's Work Creating Normal Schools in North Carolina and Maryland

King's central focus was helping the Southern states of America recover from the American Civil War, but the war had affected the Northern Friends, too. There was a noteworthy debate on how the Northern Friends could best help the newly-freed blacks in the South.

Though normal schools were being built by The Friends Freedmen's Association early in the 1860s,³³⁰ Francis T. King and The Association had not started creating normal schools until later in 1866. Prior to 1866, King and The Association's primary goal was to help create new agriculture to help feed the Carolinian Quaker community, the white-non-Quaker community, and the newly freed blacks. Additionally, when the American Civil War was over and the American Reconstruction period had begun the newly freed blacks of all ages were being taught by Quakers, Northerners, and white-non-Quakers anywhere where enough space could be found to hold class. Examples of places where classes were held included meeting houses, churches, and even outside.³³¹

The first normal school was held in Springfield, North Carolina in 1866.³³² Springfield was also the headquarters of The Association. Joseph Moore, who was one of the representatives of The Association, went around North Carolina Yearly Meeting areas, and it was upon his suggestion that the normal schools were opened during the summer of 1866 to train teachers. The training of teachers continued for 15 years and spread to other parts of North Carolina. Both Quakers and non-Quakers valued the work The Association was doing to establish normal schools to educate the freed blacks.

³³⁰ See 3.2.above for the foundation of the Friends Freedmen Association.

³³¹ Ronald E. Butchart. *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction Freedmen's Education, 1862-1875*. Connecticut: Green Press, 1980. 8-10.

³³² "Carolina Quakers." In *Carolina Quakers Our Heritage Our Hope*, edited by Seth B. Hinshaw and Mary Edith Hinshaw, 46-48. Greensboro: North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1972. 46.

The normal schools that The Association created were set up in multiple places. At times, normal schools changed locations due to lack of space in meetinghouses. This was the case of the second normal school, which moved four times in its existence.³³³

The second normal school was held in Deep River in 1867. From 1868 to 1872, the normal school was back in Springfield. Then the normal school was held in Cane Creek in 1871. After 1872, North Carolina Yearly Meeting took over, overseeing the normal school under the care of Allen U. Tomlinson. Afterward, a normal school was held in Belvidere in 1873. The following year, in 1874, a normal school was held in Asheboro. Both schools in Belvidere and Asheboro were in collaboration with the County Boards of Education. Slowly, the public school system took over the responsibility of overseeing the normal schools. The last two normal schools, which were still being supported by North Carolina Yearly Meeting, were held in Greensboro in 1876 and 1877. The normal schools that were designed for “training colored teachers,”³³⁴ were held from 1885 to 1888, with John W. Woody³³⁵ as principal.³³⁶ In Baltimore, 10th Month 13th Day, 1869,³³⁷ The Association spoke to the Elders and other members of Baltimore Yearly Meeting on establishing schools for the freedmen in Maryland.³³⁸

³³³ "Carolina Quakers." In *Carolina Quakers Our Heritage Our Hope*, edited by Seth B. Hinshaw and Mary Edith Hinshaw. 46-48. Greensboro: North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1972. 46.

³³⁴ "Carolina Quakers." In *Carolina Quakers Our Heritage Our Hope*, edited by Seth B. Hinshaw and Mary Edith Hinshaw. 46-48. Greensboro: North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1972. 46.

³³⁵ John W. Woody was part of the first faculty of Guilford in 1888 (Alexander R. Stoesen. *Guilford College On The Strength of 150 Years*. The Board of Trustees, Guilford College. 1987. 17).

³³⁶ "Carolina Quakers." In *Carolina Quakers Our Heritage Our Hope*, edited by Seth B. Hinshaw and Mary Edith Hinshaw. 46-48. Greensboro: North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1972. 46.

³³⁷ *Baltimore Yearly Meeting Minutes*. Baltimore: Baltimore, 1869. 13.

³³⁸ The use of “Freedman Coloured People” was an all-encompassing term used to talk about all freed black people, men, women, and children (*Baltimore Yearly Meeting Minutes*. Baltimore: Baltimore, 1869. 11).

King and The Association decided to create a Freedmen's school in Baltimore. Though some today believe that Maryland was considered a Northern state and followed the anti-slavery notions of the Northern people, this was not the case. Technically, the state of Maryland was divided over owning slaves. The people living in the mountain region of Maryland, closest to the North, were firmly against slavery. The people living in the southern part of Maryland, closer to the South, supported the ownership of slaves. The city of Baltimore was stuck in the middle of the debate over owning slaves or not. Some people in Baltimore did own slaves and others did not own slaves.

After the American Civil War, slave-holding sections of Maryland had to change and recreate their communities without slavery. Then the newly-freed slaves within Baltimore had to create their communities separate from the white community. This is where King and The Association stepped in and helped the newly-freed blacks establish their own community. King and The Association began by talking to the people of Baltimore Yearly Meeting about their plans to help create a community for the newly-freed blacks and to create schools for black people to attend in Baltimore.

The Association also had 30 primary and one normal³³⁹ school³⁴⁰ spending \$4,710.36³⁴¹ on these buildings. One hundred and six³⁴² teachers were at the normal school.³⁴³ While these schools were not integrated, The Association's normal schools were their attempt to create a quality school system for black students.

³⁴¹ "Labours of The Friends in North Carolina." *The Tri-Weekly Standard. (Raleigh, N.C.)*, May 19-20, 1868.

³⁴² "Labours of The Friends in North Carolina." *The Tri-Weekly Standard. (Raleigh, N.C.)*, May 19-20, 1868.

³⁴³ "Labours of The Friends in North Carolina." *The Tri-Weekly Standard. (Raleigh, N.C.)*, May 19-20, 1868.

The work of King and The Association to establish Freedmen's schools in Baltimore and North Carolina was a radical change. Racism was deep-rooted in the Southern culture for a long time. For people of all races to have access to an equal education was a monumental move towards rebuilding North Carolina.

Belvidere Academy is one school that stands out from all the other Quaker academies.³⁴⁴ Eastern Quarterly Meeting established this academy. In the same year as Belvidere's creation, North Carolina Yearly Meeting got the charter to build New Garden Boarding School. Western Quarterly Meeting helped establish New Garden Boarding School as well.

If King and The Association had tried to integrate the public schools, there would have been even more violence between the Southern whites and blacks. Much of the racially-motivated violence that occurred at this time was caused by the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), the Red Shirts, and other Confederate sympathizers.³⁴⁵

King and The Association would have been aware³⁴⁶ of the violence these groups had been causing within the Southern states. As one of the core beliefs of Quakerism is non-violence, King, The Association, and other Quaker groups such as The Friends Freedmen's Association (1862-

³⁴⁴ Belvidere Academy was in the planning stages, the Eastern Quarterly Meeting decided that Belvidere Academy would not be in the centre of the Quaker community, but rather in a far-off location towards the north-western boundary, in the town of Belvidere.³⁴⁴ They also agreed that Belvidere Academy would be located within the limits of the Piney Woods Meeting and near David White's machine house, where a two-story house would be built for the teachers and students. Two main objectives for the establishment of Belvidere Academy were, first, to provide an education for the Quaker youth living in Belvidere and the surrounding area. Secondly, it aimed to raise the youth in the Quaker faith. (Kathy E. Grant. "Tar Heel Towns Belvidere." *Our State*, 1997. 11. Located in the Belvidere file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A).

³⁴⁵ Linda B. Selleck. *Gentle Invaders Quaker Women Educators and Racial Issues During the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Richmond: Friends United Press, 1995. 63-64.

³⁴⁶ Both Quakers and Northern people, who were trying to create equality for the newly free blacks were always having to pay attention when they were travelling. Due to the fact, both Quakers and Northern people were being attacked by KKK members and beaten (Linda B. Selleck. *Gentle Invaders Quaker Women Educators and Racial Issues During the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Richmond: Friends United Press, 1995. 37-38).

1982)³⁴⁷ would have tried their best to avoid opposition by helping the newly-freed blacks and the Southern white people at the same time.

In reality, King and The Association tried their best to balance their aid to the Quaker community, the Southern white, non-Quaker community, and the newly-freed blacks. Their intention in balancing this aid between the three different communities follows the Quaker testimony of equality. If all are created equal in the Higher Power's (God's) view, each group should be given the same aid as the other.

4.8. The Baltimore Association to Advise and Assist Friends in the Southern States: Works Within North Carolina

This section investigates the work that King and The Association did throughout the Carolinas to help rebuild the South after the American Civil War. King made numerous trips to North Carolina to see first-hand how the reconstruction of the South was going.³⁴⁸ His focus was on New Garden Boarding School and the surrounding areas of Guilford County. Allen Jay³⁴⁹ remembers the many trips when he accompanied King around Guilford and other counties.³⁵⁰ He talks about how King dreamed of what their works could do to rebuild North Carolina and the South. King dreamt that, after the South was entirely rebuilt, it would be stronger than it had been before the American Civil War. He wanted New Garden Boarding School to keep running and to keep teaching the Quaker faith to its students. King believed that, with aid and help from Northern Friends, a stronger New

³⁴⁷ Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore. "An Inventory of The Friend's Freedmen's Association Records 1863-1982. Accessed 2 July 2015.

³⁴⁸ Allen Jay. *Autobiography of Allen Jay (1831-1910)*. Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 2010. 121-122.

³⁴⁹ Allen Jay. *Autobiography of Allen Jay (1831-1910)*. Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 2010. 112.

³⁵⁰ Allen Jay. *Autobiography of Allen Jay (1831-1910)*. Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 2010. 121-122.

Garden Boarding School and Yearly Meeting could be rebuilt.³⁵¹ King felt so led by the Inward Light that Baltimore Meeting granted him Travel Minutes to fulfill his calling to help Quakers, non-Quakers, and newly-freed blacks within North Carolina.

In a letter to L.L. Hobbs,³⁵² King states that he felt led by the Inward Light to come down to North Carolina and help the Carolina Quakers rebuild after the devastation of the American Civil War. King also states in the letter that he did not discern with Baltimore Meeting³⁵³ first. He instead allowed himself to listen to his Inward Light and travel to North Carolina alone, to see first-hand what the war had done, and see how he could assist in helping the Carolina Quakers and North Carolina. King and The Association started to plan to help the people living there, starting with the Quaker community.³⁵⁴ When The Association came down to North Carolina, they set up their headquarters in Springfield, North Carolina, which is a section in High Point.³⁵⁵

The three significant figures within The Association were King, who was the president of the organization, Joseph Moore, and Allen Jay. All three of these men worked energetically to help

³⁵¹ A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 12. Francis T. King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

³⁵² L.L. Hobbs stands for Lewis Lyndon Hobbs. Guilford College's first president "Biography of L.L. Hobbs." Grimsley Hobbs Family History (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

³⁵³ Francis T. King not discerning with Baltimore meeting means that he did not bring his ideas of travelling to North Carolina to see firsthand what the American Civil War had done. Since many Quakers talk to the members of a Meeting to see if their ideas a line with what they believe God is leading them to do. During a person inquiring what they feel is right the members of a meeting listen and say if they too believe that the person's calling is by God or not (Faith and Practice. North Carolina Friends. ed. 2012. 60).

³⁵⁴ Francis T. King. "Letter to L.L. Hobbs," 4 July 1889, Francis T. King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

³⁵⁵ "Carolina Quakers." In *Carolina Quakers Our Heritage Our Hope*, edited by Seth B. Hinshaw and Mary Edith Hinshaw. 46-48. Greensboro: North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1972. 46-47.

rebuild North Carolina during Reconstruction. Their works took 20 years³⁵⁶ in total to complete and consisted of helping Quakers, non-Quakers, and newly-freed blacks establish their communities and schools. The work of King and his colleagues in The Association helped the growth of the Quaker community in North Carolina, as well as helping stabilize the broader white non-Quaker communities

King and The Association began their mission by helping the Southern Quakers and New Garden Boarding School (1837-1888).³⁵⁷ As The Association was working with the Quaker community, they also helped increase the number of Quakers attending the local meetings around North Carolina by rebuilding and building new local meetings. The Quakers attending local meetings in North Carolina increased to over 5,000³⁵⁸ members in total. The Association also created a model farm, which they used to teach the Quakers a new form of agriculture, crop rotation.

When King and The Association progressed to helping the newly-freed slaves, they helped establish over 70³⁵⁹ schools for them to attend. These newly-established schools for blacks were known as normal schools and freedmen's schools. Normal schools were developed as teaching schools where black women learned to become teachers at both the normal and freedmen schools around North Carolina and the South.

³⁵⁶ Samuel S. Hill and Charles H. Lippy. *Encyclopedia of Religion in the South*. Macon: Mercer University Press, 2005. 647.

³⁵⁷ Gwen G. Erickson. *Guilford College. Founded by Friends*. Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, INC., 2007. 24.

³⁵⁸ Samuel S. Hill and Charles H. Lippy. *Encyclopedia of Religion in the South*. Macon: Mercer University Press, 2005. 647.

³⁵⁹ Samuel S. Hill and Charles H. Lippy. *Encyclopedia of Religion in the South*. Macon: Mercer University Press, 2005. 647.

King and The Association worked with diverse groups of people out of respect for the Quaker testimony of equality.³⁶⁰ They understood that everyone in North Carolina and the South was suffering. The Southern people needed help with all aspects of life, including physical aid, financial aid, and help to replant crops to rebuild Southern society.

King and The Association also helped rejuvenate the public school system, which had been in existence for white children before the American Civil War. Also, The Association created a new public school system for the newly-freed black children, which was a significant step toward rebuilding North Carolina and the South.

King and The Association's work re-establishing a public school system started in North Carolina in 1865. This was after they started working with the New Garden Quakers to rebuild New Garden Boarding School and North Carolina Yearly Meeting.

As other Quaker communities learned about conditions in the South, they became concerned. The Quakers kept up to date on what was going on in the Southern States through newspapers like *The Pennsylvania Friend*, which reported on conditions there.³⁶¹

Throughout the American Civil War, King thought it was a disgrace that children in North Carolina were unable to attend schools because they had been shut down. He saw this as an interruption in their education.³⁶² The only school that remained open in North Carolina during the American Civil War was New Garden Boarding School,³⁶³ thanks to the Mendenhall and Cox

³⁶⁰ The idea of working with all people no matter of religious or race differences is talked about in the book *Faith and Practice to help ground the Quaker faith* (Faith and Practice. North Carolina Friends. ed. 2012. 34).

³⁶¹ "Friend In North Carolina and Tennessee." *Pennsylvania Friend*, May 20, 1865, p. 303-30.

³⁶² Damon D. Hickey. *Sojourners No More The Quakers in the New South 1865-1920*. North Carolina: Friendly Desktop Publishing, 1997. 8.

³⁶³ New Garden Boarding School pre-Civil War was the only Quaker run school in Guilford County and the nearby counties (*Francis Thomson King His Life and Work*. 6. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.).

families.³⁶⁴ King praised these families for the hard work they put into keeping the school open and running.³⁶⁵

4.9. Founding a New Agriculture

The establishment of a new agricultural system helped both the Quakers and non-Quakers to begin rebuilding agriculture within North Carolina. Crop rotation in the South helped the farms grow more crops and salvage the land. King would endorse this type of agricultural system because it upholds the simplicity testimony by employing a single section of land that can be used multiple times over the years.

While King and his colleagues at The Association traveled through North Carolina helping the Quaker communities; they saw that the American Civil War had destroyed most of the fertile soil and crops. The North Carolina Quakers explained to The Association that soldiers, either fighting in the area or passing through, had devastated the land.³⁶⁶ After The Association saw the conditions of North Carolina and listened to the Quakers and local people, they acquired a better understanding of the poor conditions in which the people were left trying to survive.³⁶⁷

King was deeply concerned with the wellbeing of both Quakers and non-Quakers within North Carolina. He made it his mission to go to different meetings and learn what the people of

³⁶⁴ Nereus Mendenhall and Oriana Wilson Mendenhall were the parents of Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, who over saw New Garden Boarding School during the American Civil War. Jonathan and Elizabeth Cox also helped keep the boarding school running (Mary Mendenhall. "The Civil War And Reconstruction Through The Eyes Of Mary Mendenhall Hobbs." In *The Civil War And Reconstruction Through The Eyes Of Mary Mendenhall Hobbs*, edited by Gwen G. Erickson, 161-62. Vol. 97. 6th ed. Greensboro, NC: Friends Historical Collection, 2011).

³⁶⁵ Allen Jay. *Autobiography of Allen Jay (1831-1910)*. Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 2010. 24.

³⁶⁶ *Francis Thompson King His Life and Works*. 6. Francis T. King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

³⁶⁷ Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, Memorial Francis T. King letter, p. 2 (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

those meeting needed. When King met with other Quakers, he would hear the same problem mentioned – there was not enough viable fertile land to grow food.

When King and The Association initiated the use of crop rotation to grow mass amounts of food at one time. Its secondary importance was to return nutrients to the small amount of viable soil left. Finally, crop rotation helped put the farmers back to work, earning a living to support their families.³⁶⁸

The Association's first mission was to find a section of land suitable for growing a large number of crops in a short time. They quickly learned the difficulty of finding fertile land to grow crops. Before Reconstruction, on plantations, large amounts of crops were grown. To prove to the North Carolina Friends that agricultural could flourish again in the section where the dominant group of North Carolina Friends was living King, and his Associates bought a small farm, which belonged to Nathan Hunt.³⁶⁹

In 1867,³⁷⁰ The Association bought a two-hundred-acre section of land in Springfield,³⁷¹ North Carolina.³⁷² The Association established a Model Farm to aid the creation of a robust agricultural system.³⁷³ Francis T. King contributed a large sum of money to purchase this land. During the late 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s, The Association taught the farmers how to use crop

³⁶⁸ Damon D. Hickey. "Pioneers of the New South: The Baltimore Association and North Carolina Friends in Reconstruction," *Quaker History* 74, no. 1 (1985):1-17.

³⁶⁹ Ara Serjoie. "Francis T. King and Philanthropy at Guilford College." *Guilford College Magazine*. 39. Linda B. Selleck, *Gentle Invaders Quaker Women Educators and Racial Issues During the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Richmond: Friends United Press, 1995. 62-63., Rufus M. Jones. *The Later Periods of Quakers*. Vol. II. London: MacMillan and Co., 1921. 695., Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, Memorial Francis T. King letter, p. 2 (unpublished). located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

³⁷⁰ The Model Farm is located on Brentwood Street, which is located in the southern section of the city of High Point (Techtriaddev. "Model Farm in High Point Connects with Quaker History." *Preservation Greensboro Saving Greensboro's Treasured Places* (June 19, 2015). Accessed 6 March 2017.

³⁷¹ Springfield Friend Meeting, High Point, NC, is 11mintues away from Deep River Friends in High Point, NC, USA.

³⁷² Linda B. Selleck. *Gentle Invaders Quaker Women Educators and Racial Issues During the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Richmond: Friends United Press, 1995. 62.

³⁷³ Linda B. Selleck. *Gentle Invaders Quaker Women Educators and Racial Issues During the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Richmond: Friends United Press, 1995. 62-63.

rotation to grow crops in different sections of the fields, so not to ruin and deteriorate the soil.³⁷⁴ In the 1870s and 1880s, the Model Farm got much attention due to its advanced and ground-breaking agricultural practices.³⁷⁵ Governor Jonathan Worth (1802- 1869)³⁷⁶ said it was the “only green spot” in the Carolinas.”³⁷⁷

During the 1800s, most people had larger families than later generations, so that there could be more people working on the farm. Likewise having more people working on a farm meant that more crops and other materials could be made and then sent to the market for trade. Before the Civil War, America was a highly-productive country. Manufacture of everything from food to materials were produced in America, traded and exported to many countries including across the Atlantic to England.³⁷⁸ It is likely that King was well aware of the urgency of the restoring of the cotton industry as quickly as possible for economic reasons, and to help decrease the considerable debt that had accrued during the American Civil War.

The primary reason they decided to establish a farm in Springfield is that there were a significant number of Quakers living in this area. Plus, there was an enormous portion of land

³⁷⁴Mary Mendenhall Hobbs. Memorial Francis T. King letter, p. 2 (unpublished). located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A. and "Model Farm in High Point Connects with Quaker History." *Preservation Greensboro Saving Greensboro's Treasured Places* (June 19, 2015). Accessed 6 March 2017.<https://preservationgreensboro.org/model-farm-in-high-point-connects-with-quaker-history/>

³⁷⁵Techtriaddev. "Model Farm in High Point Connects with Quaker History." *Preservation Greensboro Saving Greensboro's Treasured Places* (June 19, 2015). Accessed 6 March 2017. <https://preservationgreensboro.org/model-farm-in-high-point-connects-with-quaker-history/>).

³⁷⁶ Jonathan Worth was the 39th governor of North Carolina, during the American Reconstruction. He was elected governor of North Carolina in 1865 under President Andrew Johnson's plan of Reconstruction. He was reelected in 1866. He was a legislator, lawyer, planter, and businessman and his lineage goes back to the Nantucket Quakers. In 1830 Worth started is political career. In 1840, Worth whilst part of the state senate he wrote the law, which established the basic structure of North Carolina's antebellum public school system (Richard L. Zuber. "Worth, Jonathan." *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, edited by William S. Powell, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996 (977).

³⁷⁷Techtriaddev. "Model Farm in High Point Connects with Quaker History." *Preservation Greensboro Saving Greensboro's Treasured Places* (June 19, 2015). Accessed 6 March 2017. <https://preservationgreensboro.org/model-farm-in-high-point-connects-with-quaker-history/>).

³⁷⁸ Robert W. Fogel. *Without Consent Or Contract: The Rise and Fall of American Slavery*. New York: Norton & Company Ltd., 1994. 17.

which still had fertile soil for crops. Finding land had, at first, seemed like an impossible task. Though, it does not mean that there were no other areas with good soil to grow food. The problem was that the other areas of land that could be used to grow crops were too small to grow a considerable amount of food on at one time. Most of these smaller sections of land would have been too small to feed a large southern family. However, on the land that King helped finance in Springfield, The Association geared their efforts towards teaching the Quakers in that area how to grow the food they needed to sustain their community in Springfield.

The creation of a Model Farm in 1867³⁷⁹ by King and The Association was a brilliant idea. Though the farm was first set up to help grow a sizeable amount of food at one time and help sustain a large number of Quakers, it also was a place where people could be educated.³⁸⁰ The North Carolina Quakers had been farming the same way for decades, using the same section of land for the same crops over and over again, until they had exhausted the fertile soil. Eventually farmers and their families had to migrate until land could be found that was suitable to re-establish a farm. Many farmers moved the area where they grew crops from one section of their farmland to another, exhausted that section of fruitful soil and continued doing this until all the land was in ruins. King and The Association's use of The Model Farm for education was an excellent idea. They understood that hands-on learning is essential.

In The article "What can be Done in North Carolina," by *The Charlotte Democrat*, it speaks of the work Francis T. King and his colleagues did for the Quakers of Guilford County in 1866. The articles state that a large number of Friends near High Point, Guilford County, N.C. were

³⁷⁹Techtriaddev. "Model Farm in High Point Connects with Quaker History." *Preservation Greensboro Saving Greensboro's Treasured Places* (June 19, 2015). Accessed 6 March 2017. <https://preservationgreensboro.org/model-farm-in-high-point-connects-with-quaker-history/>).

³⁸⁰"National Register of Historic Places Program: Back To School: Model Farm." *National Register of Historic Places NPGallery* (June 19, 1966). Accessed 6 March 2017. https://www.nps.gov/Nr/feature/school/2011/Model_Farm.htm

about to make the migration to the northwest. It was Francis T. King and other Friends of the city of Baltimore, who helped reassure the North Carolina Friends that the section in which they lived was the perfect location.³⁸¹ “The establishing and running this farm [model farm] is a genuine piece of philanthropy, for which Mr. King and his brother Friends deserve our thanks.”³⁸² - *The Charlotte Democrat*

In the South, the crops that were rotated consisted of tobacco, wheat, peanuts, corn, and cotton.³⁸³ Other sections of the same fields were used to grow food for livestock and human consumption.³⁸⁴ Since the soil was in poor condition by the end of the American Civil War, it took many decades to allow the soil to build up enough nutrients for crop rotation to work adequately. In addition, some plants are harder on the soil than others. Cotton and tobacco, for example, take a lot of the natural nutrition from the soil. On the other hand, corn and wheat take little nutrition from the soil, allowing the same area to be replanted shortly after the first harvest.³⁸⁵ Farmers had to till the lands numerous times to reach what small amount of precious soil remained deep within the earth so that the new crop rotation system would benefit the farms and help the economy.³⁸⁶ Mary Mendenhall Hobbs gives King credit for helping renew agriculture in North Carolina. King, with his associates, taught both Quakers and non-Quakers how to grow crops.³⁸⁷ “I spoke to several Friends, upon the suffrage suite the mar & pressure for confidences news until the fire morph brake value – was built in my new House.”³⁸⁸

³⁸¹ "What can be Done in North Carolina." *The Charlotte Democrat*, March 24, 1874.

³⁸² "What can be Done in North Carolina." *The Charlotte Democrat*, March 24, 1874.

³⁸³ Keith R. Baldwin. "Crop Rotations on Organic Farms." Center for Environmental Farming Systems. 1992. 3.

³⁸⁴ Keith R. Baldwin. "Crop Rotations on Organic Farms." Center for Environmental Farming Systems. 1992. 3.

³⁸⁵ Keith R. Baldwin. "Crop Rotations on Organic Farms." Center for Environmental Farming Systems. 1992. 3-4.

³⁸⁶ Keith R. Baldwin. "Crop Rotations on Organic Farms." Center for Environmental Farming Systems. 1992. 3-4.

³⁸⁷ Mary Mendenhall Hobbs. Memorial Francis T. King letter, p. 2 (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

³⁸⁸ Francis T. King. "Letter to New Garden Meeting," August 1887, (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

In the previous quote from a letter by King shows that he was a busy person and was a poor communicator. It was up to scholars to decide what he meant when he wrote parts of his letters. In this quote King wrote to the Friends at New Garden he expressed that he had met with Friends to listen to their concerns.

The Association knew that slavery was a vital part of the Southern economy. To change the minds of the Southern people about slavery would be an arduous task. The newly-freed blacks, though, also had to change their old way of life. Some scholars only focus on how the white people living in the South had to change but seem to forget that the newly-freed blacks had to change, too. The blacks had to learn how to be self-sufficient since generations of blacks had been slaves and only knew that type of life. This type of creating freedom was also a stepping stone, forming a new form of segregation between whites and blacks within the Southern society.

4.10. Agriculture During Reconstruction: the Wider Picture

Before the American Civil War, the primary form of farming in the South used slavery. The plantation owners needed labor to work the tobacco and cotton fields, and they saw slavery as free labor. When the American cotton industry was in its infancy, there were 9,000³⁸⁹ bales of cotton being grown in 1791.³⁹⁰ By the 1800s,³⁹¹ the production of cotton had increased to 79,000.³⁹² The

³⁸⁹ Charles F. Adams. "The Reign of King Cotton." *The Atlantic The Civil War*, April 2017. 1-5.

³⁹⁰ W.E.B. Du Bois. *Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880*. New York: First Free Press, 1992. 4.

³⁹¹ W.E.B. Du Bois. *Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880*. New York: First Free Press, 1992. 4.

³⁹² Gene Dattel. *Cotton and Race in the Making of America*. New Haven: Yale, 2009. 3.

demand for cotton proliferated from this and, by 1852,³⁹³ the South was producing three million bales of cotton.³⁹⁴

Both the Southern and Northern people knew that cotton was a huge part of the economic system in the United States of America. Before and after the American Civil War and during Reconstruction, cotton was still in high demand. A considerable portion of cotton was grown in the South.³⁹⁵ During Reconstruction, both the American Federal Government and Northern capitalists acknowledged that cotton needed to be restored as quickly as possible so that the United States of America would not have an even more enormous catastrophe on their hands.³⁹⁶ The United States of America needed to quickly get the cotton industry up, running, and exporting cotton again, so they could pay off their high federal debts and stabilize affairs within the nation; allowing the government to finance the expansion of the railroads.³⁹⁷

Though both before and after the American Civil War, the majority of the Southern peoples' livelihood was agricultural. Relations between planters, laborers, and merchants changed forever after the war.³⁹⁸ While they were enslaved, blacks were forced to work on land owned by whites, but as free men, they had control of their own lives and could decide which family members would work in the fields.³⁹⁹

³⁹³ W.E.B. Du Bois. *Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880*. New York: First Free Press, 1992. 4.

³⁹⁴ W.E.B. Du Bois. *Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880*. New York: First Free Press, 1992. 4.

³⁹⁵ Eugene R. Dattel. "Southern Hospitality," *The International Economy*, (March/April 1997) 52-55.

³⁹⁶ Sven Beckert, "Emancipation and Empire: Reconstructing the Worldwide Web of Cotton Production in the Age of the American Civil War." *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 109, Issue 5, (December 2004) 1405-1438.

³⁹⁷ Sven Beckert, "Emancipation and Empire: Reconstructing the Worldwide Web of Cotton Production in the Age of the American Civil War." *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 109, Issue 5, (December 2004) 1405-1438.

³⁹⁸ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "Free Labour." Section 3. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 2003. 2.

³⁹⁹ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "Free Labour." Section 3. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 2003. 2.

When Reconstruction first started, many black women decided to leave the workforce to devote extra time to their families, even though plantation owners were strongly against black women withdrawing from field labor. Newly-freed black children started attending school.⁴⁰⁰ During American Reconstruction, landowners complained that there were not enough workers attending the fields. Although their real complaint was that free labor could not be controlled as strictly as slave labor.⁴⁰¹

During the Reconstruction period, the demographics of life changed. The black slaves were now free. They would not have to live on their master's farms. The newly freed blacks could now choose where they wanted to live. Many newly freed blacks created their communities where they developed churches and schools for blacks to attend.

In 1860, during the slavery period slaves lived in communal quarters, near the master's home. Twenty years later, after the slaves were freed, the demographics of for the freed blacks and white people changed. Former slaves, who worked as sharecroppers lived on their plot of land, which was located farther away from where the white owners of the lands homes resided.⁴⁰² The freed blacks developed their churches and schools near their plots of land.⁴⁰³ Only the black

⁴⁰⁰ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "Free Labour." Section 3. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 2003. 2.

⁴⁰¹ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "Free Labour." Section 3. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 2003. 2.

⁴⁰² Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "Free Labour." Section 3. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 2003. 12-13.

⁴⁰³Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "Free Labour." Section 3. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 2003. 12-13.

sharecroppers, who worked in the “Gin house,”⁴⁰⁴ where the cotton was cleaned remained in the same location.⁴⁰⁵

Looking at the American Slavery period, Peter J. Parish labels southern slavery as ‘the paradoxical institution’⁴⁰⁶ because slaves were treated as property. While on the other hand, it was impossible to deny a slave’s humanity.⁴⁰⁷

During the slavery period, the Southern states were divided into different sections to help identify what crops were being grown in different parts of the South. It is these divisions of crops grown that set up the demographics of the Southern States. For example, North Carolina was known for growing cotton and tobacco.⁴⁰⁸ Economics was another factor, which shaped the lives of the people living in the Old South. The different sizes of plantations and the work done on them created a social class between the Upper South versus the Lower South in America during the Slavery period.⁴⁰⁹

Scholars have focused on how blacks were used as slave labor before the American Civil War. During the American Reconstruction, though, the freedmen tended fields alongside white

⁴⁰⁴ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "Free Labour." Section 3. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 2003. 12-13.

⁴⁰⁵ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "Free Labour." Section 3. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 2003. 12-13.

⁴⁰⁶ Peter J. Parish, “The Paradoxical Institution: Antebellum Slavery,” in David Brown, and Clive Webb, eds. *Race in the American South From Slavery to Civil Rights*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007. 119.

⁴⁰⁷ David Brown, and Clive Webb. *Race in the American South From Slavery to Civil Rights*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007. 119.

⁴⁰⁸ Charles LeCourt. “Agricultural Economy of Antebellum Life.” *Tar Heels Junior Historian*. North Carolina: Tar Heel Junior Historian Association, NC Museum of History, 1996. 36. Accessed 7 September 2015.

⁴⁰⁹ David Brown, and Clive Webb. *Race in the American South From Slavery to Civil Rights*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007. 119.

farmers as sharecroppers, a system which would become a new form of slavery for both the freedmen and white sharecroppers.

The freedmen wanted to be viewed as equals, with the same opportunities as everyone else. They wanted to own their land and to be able to provide for their own families. Although freedmen knew that Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation⁴¹⁰ and the 13th Amendment to the Constitution had given them their freedom from slavery,⁴¹¹ the former slaves would learn that they were still not truly free. Many newly-freed blacks were economically exploited and even forced to labor in gangs on both vast farmlands and on the railroad.⁴¹²

Throughout and after the American Civil War, numerous former black slaves took over abandoned farmlands, which had been left by the Union army, establishing their farms on these abandoned lands. This sense of freedom and land ownership would be short lived for the freedmen. In 1865,⁴¹³ after Lincoln was assassinated, Andrew Johnson (1808-1875)⁴¹⁴ became the 17th American President and put his reconstruction plan in motion; this plan gave the Southern whites free range in establishing new governments. Shortly afterward, President Johnson, a former slave-

⁴¹⁰ John H. Franklin. *Reconstruction After the Civil War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994. 12.

⁴¹¹ John H. Franklin. *Reconstruction After the Civil War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994. 6.

⁴¹² Douglas A. Blackmon. *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II*. New York: Random House, 2008. 1.

⁴¹³ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "Rights and Power The Politics of Reconstruction." Section 4. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc.. 1995. 1.

⁴¹⁴ Andrew Johnson (1808-1875), was born in North Carolina. Whilst, a young boy he was a tailor's apprentice. It was not until after he moved to Greenville, Tennessee, that Johnson becomes successful through politics, being an alderman. He served two terms as governor. Andrew Johnson himself had five slaves pre-American Civil War. He did not like large planters calling them "bloated, corrupted aristocracy." He was a strong supporter of public education and the free land for Western settlers. Johnson was a strong believer in states' rights and defender of the Union. Whilst Senator, which he came from a separating state to keep his position in 1861. Abraham Lincoln named Andrew Johnson military governor when Union soldiers occupied Tennessee. Then in 1864, Andrew Johnson was elected Abraham Lincoln's Vice President of America (Hans L. Trefousse. *Andrew Johnson A Biography*. "Raleigh Poor White." New York: W.W. North & Company. 1989. 17-20).

owner himself, gave back the abandoned farms to the white farmers. The freedmen were left again dependant on the South's old planter class and landowners.⁴¹⁵

Countless poor white farmers and black freedmen became entrapped within the new sharecropping system, which was another form of economic exploitation. Planters who owned vast farmlands wanted to have a systematic labor force,⁴¹⁶ so they wanted to restore the system of gang labor which had been developed to organize the work of slaves – which the Freedmen's Bureau supported.⁴¹⁷ Freedmen working in the fields, though, insisted that they would control their day-to-day labor.⁴¹⁸

The American Civil War economically devastated white farmers and freed blacks, leaving countless in poverty. One major factor was that many Southerners had invested their life savings in Confederate bonds, and so poverty swept across the South after the Confederacy fell.⁴¹⁹ The loss of slavery left white farmers to do their physical labor.

While the white farmers started growing crops without slave labor, they started to see how hard it was to maintain a farm without any outside help. The farmers believed it was unmanageable to succeed to grow crops without the institution of slavery.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁵ Digital History. "Sharecropping." 2016. Accessed 22/1/2016.
http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtid=2&psid=3100.

⁴¹⁶Paul S., Boyer, Clifford E. Clark, Karen Halttunen, Joseph F. Kett. *The Enduring Vision*. Vol. 1. Boston: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2011. 498.

⁴¹⁷ Digital History. "Sharecropping." 2016. Accessed 22/1/2016.
http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtid=2&psid=3100.

⁴¹⁸Paul S. Boyer, Clifford E. Clark, Karen Halttunen, Joseph F. Kett. *The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People* Vol. 1. Boston: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2011. 497.

⁴¹⁹ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "The Planters Domain." Section 3. 2003.. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 1995. 9.

⁴²⁰ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "The Planters Domain." Section 3. 2003.. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 1995. 9 and Paul S. Boyer, Clifford E. Clark, Karen Halttunen, Joseph F. Kett, Neal Salisbury, Harvard Sitkoff, and Nancy Woloch. *The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People* Vol. 1. Boston: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2011.494.

Many non-Quakers believed that the newly-freed blacks would only work when coerced. Though the blacks were free they were still treated as slaves through the use of being chained together in gangs that were overseen by the farm owners through labor contracts.⁴²¹

Starting in 1865, the agricultural labor system in the South largely transitioned to sharecropping.⁴²² Sharecropping was an agreement between white farm owners and black or white farmers. This system of labor exploited all members of a family, even though many black women wanted to stop working on the farm to tend to the household.⁴²³ The system of sharecropping prevented black women from choosing to tend to the household chores instead of working on the farmland. Instead of using gang labor under the supervision of overseers, many landowners decided to divide the plantations into 10-acre⁴²⁴ sections of farming land, which one freedmen family would tend under the control of the landowners. In return, the freedmen families would be given access to a cabin and some supplies, according to their labor contracts. The Freedmen's Bureau often helped negotiate these contracts between the freedmen families and the white landowners.⁴²⁵

Sharecroppers did not own their farms, homes, or farming tools, instead they rented these essential materials from the landowners. The landowners permitted sharecroppers, who were also

⁴²¹Douglas A. Blackmon. *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II*. New York: Random House, 2008. 1-3.

⁴²² Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "The Planters Domain." Section 3. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 2003. 1.

⁴²³ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "The Planters Domain." Section 3. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 2003. 1.

⁴²⁴Thomas Ladenburg. *The African-American as Sharecropper*. Digital History, 2007. 31.

⁴²⁵ *Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, And Abandoned Lands 1865-1872*. Records Of The Field Offices For The State of Virginia. United States Congress and National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC. 2006. 4.

known as “croppers,” to farm around 10 acres⁴²⁶ and, in exchange, the sharecroppers gave the landowners one-third of the crops grown there.⁴²⁷ Sharecroppers were made to pay another third for the use of tools, animal, and seeds.⁴²⁸

As a result, landowners could keep control of their farmlands and the sharecroppers, and they frequently required that the sharecroppers plant cotton or tobacco.⁴²⁹ This prevented the sharecroppers from planting vegetables, which could be eaten or sold. Thomas Ladenburg has claimed that the selling of vegetables by freedmen would have helped them gain more independence through earning money for themselves, and the landowners would have started losing control over their sharecroppers.⁴³⁰ During the American Reconstruction period, while many whites and blacks were starving, vegetables were worth more to the local communities than cotton or tobacco, which were primarily exported to Great Britain.

Blackmon claims that the system of sharecropping and tenant farming quickly became another form of slavery, trapping both freedmen and poor white farmers. Violence broke out between the sharecroppers and landowners over the unfair wages and crop division.⁴³¹ During the

⁴²⁶ Thomas Ladenburg. *The African-American as Sharecropper*. Digital History, 2007. 31.

⁴²⁷ Thomas Ladenburg. *The African-American as Sharecropper*. Digital History, 2007. 31.

⁴²⁸Paul S. Boyer, Clifford E. Clark, Karen Halttunen, Joseph F. Kett. *The Enduring Vision*. Vol. 1. Boston: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2011. 498-499.

⁴²⁹Cotton and tobacco were considered money plants because they were in high demand in both local areas and across America (Thomas Ladenburg. *The African-American as Sharecropper*. Digital History, 2007. 31).

⁴³⁰ Scholars who have researched sharecropping is W.E.B. Du Bois, Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney, Douglas A. Blackmon, and John H. Franklin.

⁴³¹ Douglas A. Blackmon. *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II*. New York: Random House, 2008. 1-3.

American Reconstruction, farmers had to get back to growing food and products like cotton and tobacco to be able to survive and to rejuvenate the Southern economy.⁴³²

Ransom and Sutch's characterization of croppers as tenants⁴³³ is commensurate with the "peonage" interpretation advanced by "new social historians" like Wiener, and others during the 1970s.⁴³⁴ 'This idea implies a view of the New South as an atavistic society that would be long encumbered by the cultural, political, and economic vestiges of the centuries-long racially based slaved made of production.'⁴³⁵

4.11. The Black Codes

The 'Black Codes' (1865-1866) greatly limited the former slaves' legal rights and potential for financial independence. These laws also forced the newly-freed blacks to revert back to the plantations as dependent laborers.⁴³⁶ A few Southern states restricted the jobs that were open to

⁴³² When the American Civil War (1861-1865) broke out, Britain turned to getting a large portion of their cotton from India, which they had conquered in the early 1600s and still had a firm grip on in 1861. It was during this time of great strife within America that India profited. In 1862, India had the means to be able to meet the immediate emergency of cotton being imported into Britain. In addition, in the same year of 1862, India shipped a million bales of cotton to Britain. Within two to three years India was able to ship all the products that Britain was getting from America for less money, and could ship the products to Britain faster than their counterparts, America. The American Civil War, had halted the production of any cotton or any other products that was once exported to Britain, which helped the American economy. Though after the American Civil War, America tried their best to start production of cotton and export to Britain, but by then cotton prices had been suppressed within America. This ultimately, meant America could never fully rejuvenate either the Southern economy or the American economy (Frenise A. Logan. "India's Loss of The British Cotton Market After 1865." *The Journal of Southern History* 31, no. 1 (February 1, 1965): 40-50. Accessed 23/01/2016).

⁴³³ Roger Ransom, Richard Sutch's. "Introduction: A Civil War in the Age of Capital" Lacey K. Ford, ed. *A Companion to the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Wiley-Blackwell. 2005. 6.

⁴³⁴ Roger Ransom, Richard Sutch's. "Introduction: A Civil War in the Age of Capital" Lacey K. Ford, ed. *A Companion to the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Wiley-Blackwell. 2005. 6.

⁴³⁵ Roger Ransom, Richard Sutch's. "Introduction: A Civil War in the Age of Capital." Lacey K. Ford, ed. *A Companion to the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Wiley-Blackwell. 2005. 6.

⁴³⁶ Paula S. Rothenberg. *Race, Class, Gender in United States: An Integrated Study*. "Black Codes." W.E.B. DuBois. New York: Worth Publishers, 2004. 475.

blacks.⁴³⁷ No Southern states allowed any blacks to vote. When it came to education under the Black Codes, the Southern states did not provide any public funds for blacks. The Black Codes created a new movement of radical Republicanism in Congress.⁴³⁸ These discriminatory laws which were passed throughout states during Reconstruction period were the foundation of the Black Codes⁴³⁹ It was through the Black Codes that set the foundation of the Jim Crow Laws (1890-1965).⁴⁴⁰

For this reason, Quaker groups like the Friend's Freedmen's Association and The Baltimore Association made it their mission to create freedmen's and normal schools throughout the South. Quakers, who uphold the anti-slavery testimony, would have disagreed with the Southern states governments' decision not to provide public funds for black education.

The laws created by the state governments in the South also hindered The Association in their creation of schools for the newly-freed blacks through this lack of funding. Even though The Association poured a significant amount of money they raised into the efforts to establish black schools within the South, they could only do so much. Given this fact, even though The Association invested large amounts of money into building schools, these schools still needed school materials. King himself gave a significant amount of his own money to help supply these with books and desks.

⁴³⁷During the beginning of the American Reconstruction period within America The Black Codes (1865-1866) were laws that were established and passed within the Southern States of America. These laws were aimed to limit the newly freed slave's freedom. Also, it was to make the freed slaves to work in labor economy, which were based on low wages or debt (Paula S. Rothenberg. *Race, Class, Gender in United States: An Integrated Study*. "Black Codes." W.E.B. DuBois. New York: Worth Publishers, 2004. 475, and Dan Moore Sr., Michele Mitchell. *Black Codes In Georgia*. "Overview." Atlanta: The APEX Museum. 2006. x).

⁴³⁸ Michael W. Fitzgerald. *Reconstruction in Alabama: From Civil War to Redemption in the Cotton South*. "A Mere Lapsus Unionists and Conservative Dissidents during the Civil War." Louisiana State University Press. 2017. 6.

⁴³⁹ Dan Moore Sr., Michele Mitchell. *Black Codes In Georgia*. "Overview." Atlanta: The APEX Museum. 2006. ix.

⁴⁴⁰ J. D. Smith. "Introduction." *Managing White Supremacy: Race, Politic and Citizenship in Jim Crow Virginia*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press Chapel Hill, 2002. 1.

If The Association had tried to resolve this inequality by integrating the white and black school systems, this would have been entirely unacceptable in North Carolina and could have led to violence against The Association and the Quaker society. Along with this social pressure, The Association would have been breaking the law, because the Black Codes created a firm division between the white and black communities. If the key figures or a significant portion of The Association had gone to jail for breaking the Black Codes, then their public works would have ceased. Defying the Black Codes could lead to imprisonment or, for blacks, being whipped and then imprisoned.

These and other challenges created the possibility that The Association and other Northern Quakers would have pulled out of North Carolina altogether and considered the rebuilding of North Carolina a failed attempt. Most scholars such as Dunning and Rhodes when viewing this section of American history consider the American Reconstruction period a failure.⁴⁴¹ Also, many scholars like James S. Allen, Charles W. Ramsdell, and E. Merton Coulter view this as another form a new system of racism through the establishment of the Black Codes and the Jim Crow Laws.⁴⁴²

Kenneth Stampff states that many scholars, who take a negative view of the American Reconstruction period are Marxist scholars such as James S. Allen. Marxian scholars like Allen are consider reconstruction systemic racism and economic injustice and disagree with Rhodes and Dunning's arguments, which focus on individuals and attempts to discredit Congress and President Andrew Johnson.⁴⁴³

⁴⁴¹ William Dunning and James Ford Rhodes. "Introduction." *Managing White Supremacy: Race, Politics and Citizenship in Jim Crow Virginia*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill & London, 2002. 1.

⁴⁴² William Dunning and James Ford Rhodes. "Introduction." *Managing White Supremacy: Race, Politics and Citizenship in Jim Crow Virginia*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill & London, 2002. 1.

⁴⁴³ Kenneth M. Stampff. *The Era Of Reconstruction 1865-1877*. Toronto: Random House, 1965. 218.

Stampp also states that when historians get to 1865, they must switch gears and examine how pivotal the year 1865 was in American history. Stampp believes that in the beginnings of the American Reconstruction period, that scholars have to shift back and forth between the destruction of the American Civil War. Then scholars have to examine what the South was like Post-American Civil War. Stampp argues that many scholars start seeing the red flag of failure from the major players during the Reconstruction period.⁴⁴⁴

Nicholas Lemann, a scholar who examined the American Reconstruction period, sees that the Southern States were divided, which made rebuilding very hard.⁴⁴⁵ The challenges that Americans faced after the American Civil War almost unraveled the fragile nation.⁴⁴⁶ There were bands of groups such as, the Ku Klux Klan, who were committed to sabotaging attempts at reconstruction and equality. Lemann also examines how the newly developing local governmental systems were being affected by people, who tried to undermine the governmental system and cause terror, to make reconstruction fail.⁴⁴⁷ Plus, the more extensive Congress and President Andrew Johnson fighting for control over reconstruction made and look like a failing point in American history too.⁴⁴⁸

4.12 Chapter Summary

After the American Civil War, the South's economy was in devastation, and the newly-freed blacks wanted to gain ownership to land that they felt they were owed for working as slaves on the

⁴⁴⁴ Kenneth M. Stampp. *The Era Of Reconstruction 1865-1877*. Toronto: Random House, 1965. 218.

⁴⁴⁵ Nicholas Lemann, "The Tragic Legend of Reconstruction." *The Era Of Reconstruction 1865-1877*. Toronto: Random House, 1965. 218.

⁴⁴⁶ Sean Wilentz. "A Less Perfect Union." *The New York Times* (September 10, 2006).

⁴⁴⁷ Nicholas Lemann. "The Tragic Legend of Reconstruction." *The Era Of Reconstruction 1865-1877*. Toronto: Random House, 1965. 218.

⁴⁴⁸ Sean Wilentz. "A Less Perfect Union." *The New York Times* (September 10, 2006).

lands for so long. Congress created The Freedmen's Bureau to help the newly-freed blacks find work within the community. The Friends Freedmen's Association created Normal Schools.

Francis T. King created The Baltimore Association to Advise and Assist Friends in the Southern States to help the Southern Quakers rebuild their community. King and the Association created a Model Farm to help teach crop rotation in 1867. Sharecropping was created to place everyone back to work within the broader white-non-Quaker community, but it ended up exploiting both blacks and poor whites. King and the Association took part in the reconstruction efforts by providing schools in Baltimore and North Carolina. Scholars have been critical of the reconstruction period and many people at the time also disliked the reforms people were trying to introduce. The end of slavery brought many challenges to the white landowners.

Chapter 5

Freedmen Schools

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the creation of the black community and Freedmen Schools within the Quaker and white non-Quaker public will be examined, also how the Quakers such as Yardley Warner, helped freed blacks become landowners. Exploring the Association's work creating Normal Schools in North Carolina and Maryland, will show the beginnings of how The Association went about creating the Normal Schools for the newly freed blacks. The examination of white non-Quakers working with Quakers in Freedmen Schools will show the connection between the Quaker society and the non-Quakers population. The ideas and the white, non-Quaker efforts to educate blacks in North Carolina will also be examined. Reverend Samuel S. Ashely and James Walker Hood made the crucial decision to oversee two separate school systems – one for whites and one for blacks, a decision which ultimately affected the progression of equality. Details of the Civil Rights Act of 1866 which gave blacks' equality before the law and brought the American nation one step closer to creating equality, will conclude this section. The Black Codes suppressed and marginalized the blacks (see the previous chapter). However, through the Civil Rights Act of 1866 helped create equality for blacks.

5.2. Creation of Black Communities and Freedmen Schools within North Carolina

While King and The Association created a new school system for the white non-Quakers, they were also focused creating schools for the newly freed blacks. People like the Quaker, Yardley Warner and Harmon Unthank had started building a black community in North Carolina and the South a few months beforehand. Warner and Unthank created a foundation King, and The Association would be aware of, but not necessarily follow. Though King, members of The Association, and Yardley Warner were all from the Quaker community, there was no formal connection between them.

5.2.1. Quakers Help Freed Blacks Become Landowners

Many blacks anticipated that the former Confederate land would be confiscated and redistributed by the government as smallholdings, but that did not happen. Instead, President Johnson gave the lands back to their former owners, the white farmers. It was only in South Carolina where the state government tried to redistribute the land formally owned by white farmers.⁴⁴⁹

The Republican administration in South Carolina created in 1866 a land commission which bought and resold land on extended terms of credit to blacks. By 1876, around 14,000 black families had gained lands and homes under the commission arrangement.⁴⁵⁰

In July 1866, Congress passed the Southern Homestead Act. Under this new law, it gave blacks and loyal whites the ability to buy public lands cheaply, which was only followed in five Southern States.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁹ David Brown, and Clive Webb. *Race in the American South From Slavery to Civil Rights*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007. 170.

⁴⁵⁰ David Brown, and Clive Webb. *Race in the American South From Slavery to Civil Rights*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007. 170.

⁴⁵¹ David Brown, and Clive Webb. *Race in the American South From Slavery to Civil Rights*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007. 170.

One primary symbol which the blacks saw as part of their freedom was land ownership. Blacks saw that owning land would allow them to become independent farmers, and lead to economic autonomy, and a personal sense of empowerment. Many former slaves felt they should be entitled to own their lands as compensation for centuries of unpaid labor, which their ancestors and they had carried out for white farmers.⁴⁵²

During Reconstruction,⁴⁵³ free blacks were still prohibited from owning property and city lots,⁴⁵⁴ although former slaves still strived to become landowners. The Quakers stepped in and helped: for example, Quaker John W. Woody (1841-1920)⁴⁵⁵ bought land in Greensboro, North Carolina and gave it to the black community for them to live on. The area became called Woody Side. Another Quaker who bought land and gave it to the black community was a man named Addison P. Bourn (1822-1897).⁴⁵⁶ Yardley Warner (1815-1885)⁴⁵⁷ also helped establish a black community in North Carolina along with The Friends Freedmen's Association (1862-1982).⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵²David Brown, and Clive Webb. *Race in the American South From Slavery to Civil Rights*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007). 170.

⁴⁵³Vince Rogers. "The Specter Of Slavery: The Misallocation of Education To Black Americans And Its Contribution To Declining American Economic Viability." *Harvard Journal Of African American Public Policy* (January 2013): 57. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed January 22, 2015).

⁴⁵⁴ Vince Rogers. "The Specter Of Slavery: The Misallocation of Education To Black Americans And Its Contribution To Declining American Economic Viability." *Harvard Journal Of African American Public Policy* (January 2013): 57. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed January 22, 2015).

⁴⁵⁵John W. Woody (1841-1920) was one of the first faculty members of Guilford College. He is buried in New Garden Cemetery, located in Greensboro, NC, United States of America. ("John W. Woody." Find a Grave: New Garden Cemetery. North Carolina: Greensboro, accessed 07 September, 2013).

⁴⁵⁶ Addison P. Bourn (1822-1897) is buried in New Garden Cemetery, located in Greensboro, NC, United States of America. ("Addison P. Bourn." Find a Grave: New Garden Cemetery. North Carolina: Greensboro, accessed 07 September, 2013).

⁴⁵⁷ Stafford A. Warner. *Yardley Warner - The Freedman's Friend*. Abingdon: The Wessex Press Didcot, 1957. 1.

⁴⁵⁸ Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore. "An Inventory of The Friend's Freedmen's Association Records 1863-1982.

In 1865⁴⁵⁹ Warner went to Greensboro, North Carolina. There, he bought 35.5⁴⁶⁰ acres of property, located in the southeast quadrant of Greensboro, and sold sections of the land at low rates to free blacks. He also built a schoolhouse, the Warner Day School for Black Children, and taught adult blacks crafts and agriculture.⁴⁶¹ Since Warner also established a home for himself and his family within this black community, in which he was harshly condemned by non-Quaker whites.⁴⁶² This section of Greensboro went by the name of Warnersville until the late twentieth century,⁴⁶³ when the area was redeveloped, with new homes replacing the old homes.

5.2.2. Harmon A. Unthank

Harmon A. Unthank (1827-1894) helped develop Warnersville with Warner.⁴⁶⁴ Unthank was born into slavery in North Carolina in 1827 and was one of the first free blacks to buy land from Warner. Unthank paid \$50⁴⁶⁵ for a section of land.⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁵⁹ Stafford A. Warner. *Yardley Warner - The Freedman's Friend*. Abingdon: The Wessex Press Didcot, 1957. 64.

⁴⁶⁰ Stafford A. Warner. *Yardley Warner - The Freedman's Friend*. Abingdon: The Wessex Press Didcot, 1957. 64.

⁴⁶¹ Stafford A. Warner. *Yardley Warner - The Freedman's Friend*. Abingdon: The Wessex Press Didcot, 1957. 66-67.

⁴⁶² Stafford A. Warner. *Yardley Warner - The Freedman's Friend*. Abingdon: The Wessex Press Didcot, 1957. 66-67.

⁴⁶³ Stafford A. Warner. *Yardley Warner - The Freedman's Friend*. Abingdon: The Wessex Press Didcot, 1957. 66-67.

⁴⁶⁴ Joseph A. Harmon. "Information About Harmon Unthank." My Genealogy. 2015. Accessed 23 June 2015. 66-67, and Stafford A. Warner. *Yardley Warner The Freedman's Friend*. Abingdon: The Wessex Press Didcot, 1957. 1.

⁴⁶⁵ Nell C. Strowd. "Warnersville: Pioneer Venture In Home-Ownership by Means of Modest Charges and Long-Term Payments Started After the Civil War." *Daily News* (Greensboro), June 1, 1941, sec. A., p. 8-9. Accessed 23 June 2015.

⁴⁶⁶ Nell C. Strowd. "Warnersville: Pioneer Venture In Home-Ownership by Means of Modest Charges and Long-Term Payments Started After the Civil War." *Daily News* (Greensboro), June 1, 1941, sec. A., p. 8-9. Accessed 23 June 2015.

Unthank is credited with giving Warner's land the name Warnersville.⁴⁶⁷ Unthank became a sales agent for the Friends Freedmen's Association and, while Warner only lived in Warnersville for a few years, he continued his journey to Tennessee to establish more Normal schools. Unthank continued working for the Friends Freedmen's Association,⁴⁶⁸ helping carry forth Warner's vision of a community where free blacks could buy property of their own. In 1886,⁴⁶⁹ Unthank was the first black in the South to become director of the People's Five-Cent Savings Bank.⁴⁷⁰ Later, Unthank became part of the board of directors of the First National Bank. Unthank was also a member of the county school board. He died in 1894.⁴⁷¹

The Friends Freedmen's Association of Philadelphia sponsored Warnersville, and it became one of the largest founded black communities in Greensboro, North Carolina.⁴⁷² One reason Warner and the Philadelphian Quakers chose this location is that the New Garden Quakers and the Baltimore Quakers, under King and The Association, had control of the area around Guilford College. They saw this community as an experimental project, to determine whether the

⁴⁶⁷Nell C. Strowd. "Warnersville: Pioneer Venture In Home-Ownership by Means of Modest Charges and Long-Term Payments Started After the Civil War." *Daily News* (Greensboro), June 1, 1941, sec. A., p. 8-9. Accessed 23 June 2015.

⁴⁶⁸ Nell C. Strowd. "Warnersville: Pioneer Venture In Home-Ownership by Means of Modest Charges and Long-Term Payments Started After the Civil War." *Daily News* (Greensboro), June 1, 1941, sec. A., p. 8-9. Accessed 23 June 2015.

⁴⁶⁹"Harmon Unthank History." *News & Record*, February 11, 2015. Accessed 23 June 2015.

⁴⁷⁰ "Harmon Unthank History." *News & Record*, February 11, 2015. Accessed 23 June 2015.

⁴⁷¹ Joseph A. Harmon. "Information About Harmon Unthank." My Genealogy. 2015. Accessed 23 June 2015.

⁴⁷²Nell C. Strowd. "Warnersville: Pioneer Venture In Home-Ownership by Means of Modest Charges and Long-Term Payments Started After the Civil War." *Daily News* (Greensboro), June 1, 1941, sec. A., p. 8-9. Accessed 23 June 2015.

Philadelphian Quakers could help freed blacks who still had to live on their former masters' land because they had no other place to go.⁴⁷³

While Warner was in Springfield and High Point, North Carolina; there is no proof that Warner and King ever encountered each other. Both of these men, though, would have had many of the same friends and acquaintances in the Springfield Friends Meeting area.

The examples of Yardley Warner, Harmon Unthank, and The Friends Freedmen's Association of Philadelphia illustrate that there were groups that focused on blacks only and predated Francis T. King and The Association helping the Southern people rebuild. Yardley Warner, Harmon Unthank, and The Friends Freedmen's Association geared their efforts to working with the newly freed blacks. Francis T. King and The Association, on the other hand, helped both the North Carolinian Quakers, white non-Quakers, and the newly freed blacks in Maryland and North Carolina. Warner, Unthank, and The Friends Freedmen's Association expanded their works into the other Southern States such as Tennessee.⁴⁷⁴

5.3. North Carolina Yearly Meeting

In 1866,⁴⁷⁵ during the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends, held at New Garden on Second-Day, The Fifth of Eleventh Month,⁴⁷⁶ Joel G. Anderson from The Committee on Freedmen reported to the meeting on the work being done to help the newly-freed slaves. The committee had

⁴⁷³Nell C. Stowd. "Warnersville: Pioneer Venture In Home-Ownership by Means of Modest Charges and Long-Term Payments Started After the Civil War." *Daily News* (Greensboro), June 1, 1941, sec. A., p. 8-9. Accessed 23 June 2015.

⁴⁷⁴ Stafford A. Warner. *Yardley Warner The Freedman's Friend*. Abingdon: The Wessex Press Didcot, 1957. 64.

⁴⁷⁵ *Minutes Of North Carolina Yearly Meeting Of Friends Held At New Garden*. Greensboro: A.W. Ingold, Printer Patriot Office, 5/11/1866. 9.

⁴⁷⁶ *Minutes Of North Carolina Yearly Meeting Of Friends Held At New Garden*. Greensboro: A.W. Ingold, Printer Patriot Office, 5/11/1866. 9. Give minute number and date

given food and clothing to help the freedmen, as well as collecting books and other school materials for the black schools. Anderson talked about their work creating First Day Schools for the blacks.

Quakers used First Day schools to teach newly-freed slaves to read and write. Since collecting enough school supplies such as books would have taken time, the Bible would have been the first means to teach Freedmen to read. This is similar to the Sabbath Schools, first created in 1821 in Guilford County, ⁴⁷⁷by Levi⁴⁷⁸ and Vestal Coffin as part of their efforts to educate blacks. They also used the Bible as their primary source when teaching blacks to read. Though, as the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends in 1866 states, the Quakers tried as quickly as possible to gain enough school supplies for each student.

During this same meeting, W.S. Tomlinson reported on the First Day Schools which were established by The Association.⁴⁷⁹ These schools were open for two hours each day, and the teachers worked with a sense of religious duty. The Normal schools were reported to have been successful in the North Carolina Yearly Meeting areas. The meeting recognized one normal school, which was established by The Association, and was held in early in April.⁴⁸⁰ This normal schools' superintendent was Jos. Moore. There were around 120⁴⁸¹ people attending the normal school.

⁴⁷⁷ Linda B. Selleck. *Gentle Invaders Quaker Women Educators and Racial Issues During the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Richmond: Friends United Press, 1995. 25.

⁴⁷⁸ Levi Coffin and his wife Catherine White left Guilford Country, North Carolina for Indiana in 1826 (Levi Coffin. *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin The Reputed President of the Underground Railroad*. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1880).

⁴⁷⁹ A.W. Ingold. *Minutes Of North Carolina Yearly Meeting Of Friends Held At New Garden*. Greensboro: Printer Patriot Office, 5/11/1866. 9.

⁴⁸⁰ A.W. Ingold. *Minutes Of North Carolina Yearly Meeting Of Friends Held At New Garden*. Greensboro: Printer Patriot Office, 1866.13.

⁴⁸¹ A.W. Ingold . *Minutes Of North Carolina Yearly Meeting Of Friends Held At New Garden*. Greensboro: Printer Patriot Office, 5/11/1866.13.

Quakers reported that there were 22 First-Day Schools for black people, who were taught or aided by Friends of North Carolina.⁴⁸² There were ten schools which reported 800⁴⁸³ students in attendance. In total, 1600 to 2000⁴⁸⁴ students were attending the normal schools. Many Quakers reported that they supported and encouraged the normal schools by visiting them and giving them school materials and books.

The creation of First Day schools was the precursor to the Normal schools for the freedmen. One core belief that comes from the Quaker Testimonies is equality, which in this case means that everyone should have the right to the same opportunities for an education. Equal education was a vision of Levi and Vestal Coffin during the American slavery period. Even though educating black slaves was illegal, the Coffin family and other Quaker families taught black slaves in the Sabbath School after Meeting every Sunday. However, later, Quakers were prohibited from teaching the black slaves, so they resorted to secretly teaching them using any possible means.⁴⁸⁵

The reports from North Carolina Yearly Meeting give evidence that Quakers believed in equality through the creation of the normal schools in North Carolina, during the American Reconstruction period. However, some scholars doubt the Quaker commitment to equality. Scholars such as Donna McDaniel and Vanessa Julye go back to the foundation of the New World and state that when Quakers started settling in the New World, to enslave another person(s) was

⁴⁸² A.W. Ingold . *Minutes Of North Carolina Yearly Meeting Of Friends Held At New Garden*. Greensboro: Printer Patriot Office, 5/11/1866.13.

⁴⁸³ A.W. Ingold .*Minutes Of North Carolina Yearly Meeting Of Friends Held At New Garden*. Greensboro: Printer Patriot Office, 5/11/1866.13.

⁴⁸⁴ A. W. Ingold.*Minutes Of North Carolina Yearly Meeting Of Friends Held At New Garden*. Greensboro: Printer Patriot Office, 5/11/1866.13.

⁴⁸⁵ Levi Coffin. *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin The Reputed President of the Underground Railroad*. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1880.

not part of their way. Quakers learned what slavery was by living amongst other communities that practice slavery.⁴⁸⁶ Many Quakers did not question the practice of slavery but accepted it as part of society.⁴⁸⁷ Although, on the other hand, the European Quakers did see slavery as wrong and felt it was against their beliefs: “inconsistent with their principles.”⁴⁸⁸

From a sociological point of view, J. Thorsten Sellin⁴⁸⁹ and Heather Andrea William,⁴⁹⁰ each examines the foundations of slavery system but choose a different starting point. Sellin analyzes the ancient Greco-Roman slavery system and how the structure of slavery was created and upheld throughout history. The slavery system created within ancient society the division of class: free versus slave. The ordinary citizens and slaves understood that this was how society was structured.⁴⁹¹

William, when she analyzed the structure of the slavery system, does not go as far back as the Greco-Roman period, but starts off looking at the European slave trade. The European slave trade created the structure of the American society during the 1600s and well into the 1800s. It is the keeping of slavery which created within the American culture the idea that slavery was just another part of the norms in America.⁴⁹²

⁴⁸⁶ Donna McDaniel and Vanessa Julye. *Fit for Freedom Not for Friendship Quakers, African Americans, and the Myth of Racial Justice*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Quaker Press. 2009. 4-5.

⁴⁸⁷ Donna McDaniel and Vanessa Julye. *Fit for Freedom Not for Friendship Quakers, African Americans, and the Myth of Racial Justice*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Quaker Press. 2009. 4-5.

⁴⁸⁸ Donna McDaniel and Vanessa Julye. *Fit for Freedom Not for Friendship Quakers, African Americans, and the Myth of Racial Justice*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Quaker Press. 2009. 8.

⁴⁸⁹ J. T. Sellin. *Slavery and The Penal System*. New Orleans: Quid Pro Books, 2016.

⁴⁹⁰ Heather A. Williams. *American Slavery A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

⁴⁹¹ J. T. Sellin. *Slavery and The Penal System*. New Orleans: Quid Pro Books, 2016. 19-26.

⁴⁹² Heather A. Williams. *American Slavery A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. 11-19.

As shown through William's and Sellin's work, this is one reason that when the early Quakers settled in America, they did not question the practice of slavery. The European slavery trade founded the slavery system in America in the 1600s at the same time the New World was being settled by the Europeans. However, as time passed, the American society would have to rebuild the South after the war. Then all communities within America had to try to rebuild a new nation after the American Civil War. As George A. Rutherglen's work⁴⁹³ and Michael W. Fitzgerald's work,⁴⁹⁴ shows, the American government suppressed the newly freed blacks by passing laws that created new divisions between blacks and whites during the American Reconstruction period.⁴⁹⁵

The major divisions created by the American government and the local Southern States created challenges for both the Quakers, Northerners, and other Southerners, that were trying to create normal schools. The Quakers continued working to create normal schools for the newly freed blacks. Quakers gave large donations and books to the normal schools. The many goods that the Northern Quakers could provide to these normal schools show that, while many of the Quakers and non-white Quakers in the South were suffering and struggling to support their own families, the Northern people were enjoying a robust lifestyle. Since the American Civil War had mostly been fought within the Southern States, they had not been as affected in the Northern states.

⁴⁹³ George A. Rutherglen. *Civil Rights in the Shadow of Slavery* "The Birth of Civil Rights The Circumstances, Acts, And Legacy of the 39th Congress." Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2013. 4-6.

⁴⁹⁴ Michael W. Fitzgerald. "A Mere Lapsus Unionists and Conservative Dissidents during the Civil War." *Reconstruction in Alabama: From Civil War to Redemption in the Cotton South*. Louisiana State University Press. 2017. 6.

⁴⁹⁵ George A. Rutherglen. *Civil Rights in the Shadow of Slavery* "The Birth of Civil Rights The Circumstances, Acts, And Legacy of the 39th Congress." Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2013. 4-6. And Michael W. Fitzgerald. *Reconstruction in Alabama: From Civil War to Redemption in the Cotton South*. "A Mere Lapsus Unionists and Conservative Dissidents during the Civil War." Louisiana State University Press. 2017. 6.

The education of black slaves by the Quakers is evidence that the Quakers were forward-thinking, progressive people of action. The action of education illustrates how far the Quaker group of people would go to follow their Inward Light and do what they believed was right, even if white non-Quakers criticised their actions. Many times, Quakers living in the Southern States faced physical violence from the greater public, who were against the Quaker efforts to make the former slaves more equal.⁴⁹⁶

As North Carolina Yearly Meeting discussed, Francis T. King and The Association were continuing their mission to rebuild North Carolina.⁴⁹⁷ By 1866, The Association's goal had shifted to creating normal schools and freedmen's schools around North Carolina.⁴⁹⁸ This progression occurred after Francis T. King and The Association had helped rebuild New Garden Boarding School (1837-1888).⁴⁹⁹ Even if there is little in newspapers about King, there are references to his work such as the rebuilding of the school.⁵⁰⁰

5.4. Non-Quaker Efforts to Educate Blacks in North Carolina

After money and physical materials, such as cloth to make clothes, had arrived and met the Southern communities' immediate needs, there was a shift from relief aid to educating the

⁴⁹⁶Linda B. Selleck. *Gentle Invaders Quaker Women Educators and Racial Issues During the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Richmond: Friends United Press, 1995. 20-21.

⁴⁹⁷ *Baltimore Yearly Meeting Minutes*. Baltimore: Baltimore, 1869. 16.

⁴⁹⁸ *Baltimore Yearly Meeting Minutes*. Baltimore: Baltimore, 1869. 16.

⁴⁹⁹ Gwen G. Erickson. *Guilford College. Founded by Friends*. Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, INC., 2007. 24.

⁵⁰⁰ Mary Mendenhall-Hobbs, Francis T. King Memorial letter p. 1-2 (unpublished).

freedmen. The white, non-Quaker community's primary goal was to "un-teach"⁵⁰¹ the freedmen the ways of slavery.⁵⁰²

The next question was, where were the freedmen to be educated when there were no places they could go. The white non-Quaker community thought that the freedmen should be educated in churches, schools, homes, and fields.⁵⁰³ Many white non-Quakers became teachers to teach the freed slaves. Every structure, from churches to local homes and even sheds, became places of education for the freed blacks. Freed blacks were so eager and so willing to learn, they would carry torn spelling books and reading primers to the locations where white people were teaching.⁵⁰⁴ Entire free black families were learning to read and write for the first time. Some freed blacks' main goal was to read the Bible, and others set their sights on reading so that they would not have to rely on people to read for them. Blacks also wanted to learn to read so they could protect themselves from scalawags,⁵⁰⁵ carpetbaggers,⁵⁰⁶ and their former masters, who would try to cheat the newly-freed blacks out of money by raising prices of goods, even if the paperwork said a lower

⁵⁰¹ Ronald E. Butchart. *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction Freedmen's Education, 1862-1875*. Connecticut: Green Press, 1980. 4.

⁵⁰² Ronald E. Butchart. *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction Freedmen's Education, 1862-1875*. Connecticut: Green Press, 1980. 4.

⁵⁰³ The lessons the Freedmen were to learn were to help them learn thrift and industry (Ronald E. Butchart. *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction Freedmen's Education, 1862-1875*. Connecticut: Green Press, 1980. 4).

⁵⁰⁴ Ronald E. Butchart. *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction Freedmen's Education, 1862-1875*. Connecticut: Green Press, 1980. 4.

⁵⁰⁵ Democrats called Republicans "scalawag" (Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "Reconstruction Government in the South." Section 4. 2003. Section 4 HarperCollins Publishers, Inc.).

⁵⁰⁶ Northern white newcomers were called "carpetbagger". The reason the name carpetbaggers was coined is that, in the mid-19th century, people used carpetbags as traveling bags. (Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "Reconstruction Government in the South." Section 4. 2003. Section 4. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 1).

price. Scalawags, carpetbaggers, and former masters knew that many newly-freed blacks were illiterate, so it was easy to take advantage of them.⁵⁰⁷ The Freedmen's Aid believed that the freedmen's education should be grounded in morality and religion with self-respect and self-support.⁵⁰⁸

Within freedmen's schools in North Carolina, local and Northern Quakers helped provide the teachers' salaries and Quakers in North Carolina built homes where the teachers could live.⁵⁰⁹

The new black schools were often financed through private aid societies and benevolent societies from the North. Two northern organizations which provided money to the new schools were the American Missionary Association (AMA) and the National Freedmen's Relief Association.⁵¹⁰

In 1866, 1,405 teachers, supported by Northern funds, taught free blacks in 975 schools. By the end of the decade, over 2,560 teachers oversaw 2,039 schools.⁵¹¹ In 1866,⁵¹² the Methodists and Congregationalists used their educational work to gain converts to their specific creed. The Methodists soon withdrew their aid from secular societies to create their agency, the Methodist Episcopal Freedmen's Aid Society.

⁵⁰⁷Alex Sandifer, and Betty D. Renfer. "Schools For Freed Peoples." *Tar Heels Junior Historian*. North Carolina: Tar Heel Junior Historian Association, NC Museum of History, 1997. 37. Accessed 7 September 2015.

⁵⁰⁸The Freedmen's aid societies were created during the Reconnection period to oversee the welfare of the Freedmen "newly-freed coloured people" (Ronald E. Butchart. *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction Freedmen's Education, 1862-1875*. Connecticut: Green Press, 1980. 4).

⁵⁰⁹ Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore. "An Inventory of The Friend's Freedmen's Association Records 1863-1982. Accessed 2 July 2015.

⁵¹⁰Alex Sandifer, and Betty D. Renfer. "Schools For Freed Peoples." *Tar Heels Junior Historian*. North Carolina: Tar Heel Junior Historian Association, NC Museum of History, 1997. 37. Accessed 7 September 2015.

⁵¹¹ Ronald E. Butchart. *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction Freedmen's Education, 1862-1875*. Connecticut: Green Press, 1980. 4.

⁵¹² Ronald E. Butchart. *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction Freedmen's Education, 1862-1875*. Connecticut: Green Press, 1980. 8.

5.4.1. Reverend Samuel S. Ashely

Reverend Ashely⁵¹³ was sponsored by the American Missionary Association (AMA) to travel to North Carolina, alongside many Northern people, to educate the newly-freed blacks.

While Ashely was in North Carolina, he worked as a teacher and helped establish black schools in Wilmington on the North Carolina coast. He eventually decided to live permanently in North Carolina. Ashley was sent as a delegate to the state Constitutional Convention of 1868. His central campaign was for free school systems for all. He believed the people of North Carolina could not make wise decisions when it came to their futures unless they became more educated saying “An intelligent people constitute a powerful state.”⁵¹⁴

Later, Ashley became North Carolina’s first superintendent of public schools under the new constitution. Ashely’s principal job was start and administer the new public school system facing faced many problems. There was a shortage of money, teachers, schoolhouses and textbooks for the large number of children, black and white, who were in need of an education.⁵¹⁵

Many non-Quaker whites did not want their children to go to school with black children, so they demanded separate schools for whites and blacks.⁵¹⁶ Some violence broke out over the education of blacks, and some schools were burned down. Some white Northerners who had come south to teach blacks were beaten. Most of the non-Quaker whites were not violent, but many of

⁵¹³ Samuel S. Ashley was born on 12 May 1819,⁵¹³ in Cumberland, Rhode Island. Ashely graduated from Oberlin College in 1849.⁵¹³ He served as a parish for twelve years starting on 6 July 1852.⁵¹³ In 1864,⁵¹³ he entered the United States Christian Commission where he remained until the end of the American Civil War. (Josiah C. Kent. “REV. Samuel S. Ashley.” *Northborough History*. Newton: Garden City Press, 1921. 149).

⁵¹⁴ Alex Sandifer, and Betty D. Renfer. “Schools For Freed Peoples.” *Tar Heels Junior Historian*. North Carolina: Tar Heel Junior Historian Association, NC Museum of History, 1997. 37.

⁵¹⁵ Alex Sandifer, and Betty D. Renfer. “Schools For Freed Peoples.” *Tar Heels Junior Historian*. North Carolina: Tar Heel Junior Historian Association, NC Museum of History, 1997. 37.

⁵¹⁶ Alex Sandifer, and Betty D. Renfer. “Schools For Freed Peoples.” *Tar Heels Junior Historian*. North Carolina: Tar Heel Junior Historian Association, NC Museum of History, 1997. 37.

them would not associate with the Northern teachers, give them board nor lease them school space.⁵¹⁷ Some of the white non-Quakers were resentful of the Northern teachers because they believed that their presence would disrupt Southern society.⁵¹⁸

Despite these difficulties in the new educational system, one African-American man would become Samuel S. Ashely's colleague – James Walker Hood. Hood would eventually become a hugely influential figure in North Carolina's public school system.

5.4.2. James Walker Hood

James Hood (1831-1918)⁵¹⁹ was born on 31 May 1831 in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania.⁵²⁰ A minister, Hood had also been a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1868, just as Ashley had been.⁵²¹ After this event, Ashley chose Hood to serve as his assistant superintendent and help him oversee the two separate school systems that were being established in North Carolina.

⁵¹⁷Alex Sandifer, and Betty D. Renfer. "Schools For Freed Peoples." *Tar Heels Junior Historian*. North Carolina: Tar Heel Junior Historian Association, NC Museum of History, 1997. 37.

⁵¹⁸ Alex Sandifer, and Betty D. Renfer. "Schools For Freed Peoples." *Tar Heels Junior Historian*. North Carolina: Tar Heel Junior Historian Association, NC Museum of History, 1997. 37.

⁵¹⁹James Walker Hood was born on 31 May 1831, to Levi and Harriet Walker Hood, near the Pennsylvania-Delaware state line. As a child, a Quaker family, the Jacksons, influenced James Walker Hood.⁵¹⁹ By the time, James Walker Hood was born there were about 38,000 free blacks, to the white population of approximately 1.3 million. In Pennsylvania there was no more than 400 enslaved blacks during James Walker Hood's infancy. Though by the time, James Walker Hood was twelve-years-old, there would be no enslaved blacks in Pennsylvania. (Sandy D. Martin. *For God and Race: The Religious and Political Leadership of AMEZ Bishop James Walker Hood*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999. 23).

⁵²⁰ Alex Sandifer and Betty D. Renfer. "Schools For Freed Peoples." *Tar Heels Junior Historian*. North Carolina: Tar Heel Junior Historian Association, NC Museum of History, 1997. 37.

⁵²¹ Alex Sandifer and Betty D. Renfer. "Schools For Freed Peoples." *Tar Heels Junior Historian*. North Carolina: Tar Heel Junior Historian Association, NC Museum of History, 1997. 37.

The Jim Crow Laws (1890-1965),⁵²² created a new form of segregation within the Southern States. By the 1870s⁵²³ the Federal Government terminated the Freedmen's Bureau and withdrew a significant portion of support for public schooling thus placing the control of public education with the local and state government. This action resulted in inequality between of schooling for blacks and white children.⁵²⁴

James Walker Hood began his work by traveling around North Carolina gathering information about the black schools. On his travels, he discovered there were thousands of blacks in hundreds of black schools. The children who attended the black schools, though, were only a small amount of the 330,000⁵²⁵ former slaves living in North Carolina.

Ashley's choice to oversee two separate school systems, one for whites and one for blacks, shows that Ashley was not a strong-willed enough to take the progressive step closer to equality of education for both whites and blacks by allowing them to be educated in the same classroom and under one school system. Ashley may have feared that if he pushed to integrate white and black children in the same educational system, it would escalate the violence. On the other hand, some may see Ashley as having taken the easy way out by making a decision that hurt black students. Both whites and blacks would be allowed to get an education, but it would not be equal. The white students would have access to better school materials and classrooms, while blacks would receive a few second-hand school materials to use in overcrowded classrooms. Rev. Samuel

⁵²² J. D. Smith. "Introduction." *Managing White Supremacy: Race, Politics and Citizenship in Jim Crow Virginia*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press Chapel Hill, 2002. 1.

⁵²³ The Black Codes (1865-1866) was the forerunner to Jim Crow Laws (J. D. Smith. "Introduction." *Managing White Supremacy: Race, Politic and Citizenship in Jim Crow Virginia*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press Chapel Hill, 2002. 1).

⁵²⁴ David Brown, and Clive Webb. *Race in the American South From Slavery to Civil Rights*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007. 173.

⁵²⁵ Alex Sandifer and Betty D. Renfer. "Schools For Freed Peoples." *Tar Heels Junior Historian*. North Carolina: Tar Heel Junior Historian Association, NC Museum of History, 1997. 37.

Ashely and James Hood's work on overseeing two separate school systems had no connection to King and his colleagues of The Association.

King and his colleagues of The Association, though they too were creating schools for the newly-freed blacks were not connected to the Freedmen's Bureau's work or the other wider-non-Quakers work on establishing public schools. Their work was based on coordinating with the Quaker community and other Northern people in the black established schools.⁵²⁶

5.5. Civil Rights Act of 1866

The Civil Rights Act of 1866 ensured blacks gained equality before the law.⁵²⁷ One thing that must be remembered, though, is that in 1866 when Congress referred to equality for blacks, they did not mean both male and female, only black males.

President Johnson did not agree with these bills and vetoed them after Congress passed them. President Johnson's decision created even more tension between Congress and the President.

In 1866,⁵²⁸ Congress passed the Civil Rights Act and advanced to approve the 14th Amendment.⁵²⁹ The 14th Amendment forbids the denial of any American citizen "equal protection of the laws."⁵³⁰ This was a monumental move within American history, providing the

⁵²⁶ Ronald E. Rutchart. *Schooling the Freed People*. Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press Chapel Hill, 2010. 5-7.

⁵²⁸Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "Congress and Civil Rights." Section 4.. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc 1995. 1.

⁵²⁹ Fourteenth Amendment XIV, Section 1. "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any States deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws" (passed by Congress 13 June 1866. National Archives. "Constitution of the United States Amendments 11-27." Accessed 28 January 2015).

⁵³⁰ Gerard N. Magliocca. *American Founding Son: John Bingham and the Invention of the Fourteenth Amendment* "The Fourteen Amendment." New York: New York University Press 2013. 108.

Constitutional guarantee of equal rights regardless of race. The Civil Rights Act of 1866 was also the first significant law passed over a presidential veto.⁵³¹

Though President Johnson was supposed to represent the people of the United States of America, he lacked this ability because of his prejudice. He seemed to disagree with everything Congress did and all of the changes they tried to make.⁵³² In some ways, President Johnson was pushing segregation within the mass population between whites and blacks. It appears that President Johnson wanted to split America into two separate sections all over again, though this time if he succeeded, the segregation would not just have been between the Union North and Confederate South, and it would have been between blacks and whites across America. Every state in America would be segregated. History did grant President Johnson and other opponents of equality some victories because separate white and black communities were indeed created. . It would take more than a century for these communities to start to blend and create multi-ethnic communities across America.

A year after the Civil Rights Act of 1866 was established, another law was created to deal with Reconstruction. The law was called The Reconstruction Act of 1867 and it initiated a radical American Reconstruction period.⁵³³

The battle that took place between President Johnson and Congress was about how the Reconstruction should be handled.⁵³⁴ King and The Association were trying to create the same community for Quakers, non-Quakers, and newly-freed blacks. The laws that were passed in Washington D.C. by President Johnson and Congress limited King and The Association's

⁵³¹ George A. Rutherglen. *Civil Rights in the Shadow of Slavery* "The Birth of Civil Rights The Circumstances, Acts, And Legacy of the 39th Congress." Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2013. 4-6.

⁵³² Eric Foner. "Why Reconstruction Matters." *The New York Times*, March 28, 2015, sec. SR1, p. SR1.

⁵³³ The Civil Rights Act of 1866 is discussed in more detail in chapter 6.

⁵³⁴ Eric Foner. "Why Reconstruction Matters." *The New York Times*, March 28, 2015, sec. SR1, p. SR1.

progression in the South, and the Northern people ran into the same limitations when they started rebuilding the region.

In some ways, scholars examining Reconstruction could conclude that the American government was trying to create a new form of segregation between whites and blacks. Congress at the time, though, from a historical viewpoint, was trying their best to make good choices for a ruined nation that was trying to rebuild itself.⁵³⁵

5.6. Chapter Summary

In 1866,⁵³⁶ the North Carolina Yearly Meeting discussed the creation of normal schools for the newly-freed blacks. Quakers had tried educating blacks before when Levi and Vestal Coffin began educating enslaved blacks in the Sabbath school after Meeting every First Day. The Coffins and other Quakers taught the black slaves until they had to stop because the slaves' masters were angry that their slaves started to question them.⁵³⁷ The two separate public school systems were overseen by Reverend Ashely and Hood. The Freedmen's Bureau was created by Congress to provide relief and help the newly-freed blacks find jobs. The Black Codes created a new form of segregation by limiting the newly-freed blacks to exploitative labor contracts negotiated by the Freedmen's Bureau. Though the Freedmen's Bureau started out with good intentions, the wider white non-Quaker people become suspicious of their work quickly after the organization was established. Shortly afterward, The Civil Rights Act of 1866 was passed, which gave blacks' equality before the law.

⁵³⁵ Eric Foner. "Why Reconstruction Matters." *The New York Times*, March 28, 2015, sec. SR1, p. SR1.

⁵³⁶ *Minutes Of North Carolina Yearly Meeting Of Friends Held At New Garden*. Greensboro: A.W. Ingold, Printer Patriot Office, 5/11/1866.9.

⁵³⁷ Mary E. Snodgrass, "Hamilton, Saul (fl. 1830s)." *The Underground Railroad: An Encyclopedia of People, Places, and Operations*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2015. 247.

Chapter 6

Baltimore Quakers and North Carolina

6.1. Introduction

In 1867, two significant things that were happening, the Reconstruction Acts were being passed and aid was being received in the South through the government, the Northerners, the Baltimore Yearly Meeting. Baltimore Yearly Meeting was looking at the works King and his colleagues of The Association had done in the South. Also during this meeting, The Association was asking for more financial assistance from other Northern Quakers. In the American government, the Reconstruction Act of 1867 was passed over President Johnson's veto and created what was known as Radical Reconstruction in America.

In this chapter, Baltimore Yearly Meeting Minutes will be examined on the progression of education and agriculture in North Carolina's Friends meeting. In Baltimore Yearly Meeting The Association asked for more funds to help the North Carolina Friends with wide-spread poverty throughout the Quaker community. The more extensive white non-Quaker community was facing the same problem of poverty.

6.2. Baltimore Yearly Meeting Minutes

Baltimore Yearly Meeting recorded the works The Association had done in 1867 during the 1868 Yearly Meeting. On 21st of the month and 5th of the week in the year 1868,⁵³⁸ education and

⁵³⁸ *Baltimore Yearly Meeting Minutes*. Baltimore: Baltimore, 1869. 16.

agriculture in the South and North Carolina Friends were minuted by Baltimore Yearly Meeting as a ‘pressing concern.’⁵³⁹ During the meeting, The Association tried to locate more funding to help their Southern Friends. They asked Friends from Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York to lend a hand by sending money, clothes, and other materials to aid Southern Friends. The Association also asked for money from other Quakers due to the massive influx of Quaker refugees passing through their area. Friends from Pennsylvania and New York responded, aiding the Southern Friends by supplying them with money and materials that would help them rebuild their communities.

The first goal of The Association was to help the poverty-stricken Friends in the South and therefore halt the migration of Friends to the Northern and Midwestern States. King and some of his colleagues at The Association personally traveled to the South to hand out clothes and food. The migration of North Carolina Friends stopped, and the North Carolina Yearly Meeting membership increased from 2,200 in 1860 to 5,000 by 1881.⁵⁴⁰ The Association’s next concern was rebuilding New Garden Boarding School.⁵⁴¹

⁵³⁹ Quakers use the word ‘concern’ when speaking of an issue or issues that that the meeting has either within the community or in the wider community, such as the treatment of slaves was a concern to Quakers (Donna M., McDaniel, and Vanessa Julye. *Fit for Freedom Not for Friendship Quakers, African Americans, and the Myth of Racial Justice*. Philadelphia: Quaker Press of Friends General Conference, 2009. 16).

The information given to Baltimore Yearly Meeting came from a report that the Baltimore Association gave the meeting. The Meeting also appointed M. Thompson Millikin, Thomas R. Matthews, Jr. Isaac Brooks, Jr. and George L. Scott, to keep Baltimore Meeting up to date on what was happening amounts their Friends in North Carolina (*Baltimore Yearly Meeting Minutes*. Baltimore: Baltimore, 1869. 16).

⁵⁴⁰ A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 14. Francis T. King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

⁵⁴¹ In 1882, Francis T. King collected \$432,000 solely to expand New Garden Boarding School. King himself donated a large amount of money to aid the progression of New Garden Boarding School (A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892.16. Francis T. King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.).

Most of the money The Association collected went into helping create a new educational system in North Carolina.⁵⁴² King argued that the majority of this money should go towards educating the children in the South since the American Civil War had stopped their education. King also believed that all Quaker children should be taught the Quaker testimonies and be guided by well-educated people, to help them make their way in society. He took some of his beliefs from Gurney⁵⁴³ such as the Gurneyite idea of a well-guarded education.⁵⁴⁴

The final task of The Association was to work in tandem with North Carolina Yearly Meeting to rebuild North Carolina and the area around Guilford County. The Association encouraged them in Quaker Meetings to keep running and keep the First Day Schools going.

With The Association, King created bonds with other influential Quakers, such as Nereus and Oriana Mendenhall and Jonathan and Elizabeth Cox, who had run New Garden Boarding School during the American Civil War.⁵⁴⁵ King took over thirty trips to North Carolina and visited almost every Yearly Meeting in America. He also took trips to Great Britain, bringing awareness to the British Friends about the conditions of the Southern Friends.⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴² Many Friends throughout the United States and Great Britain saw King as a good leader. The Friends from Pennsylvania and other New England Friends from Rhode Island and New York gave \$125,000 to The Association to help rebuild the South. The British Friends sent \$10,000 for aid to the educational system in both North Carolina and Tennessee, from 1878 to 1882. British Friends, including Stanley Pumphrey, also gave \$5,500 from 1881 to 1886.⁵⁴² (A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892.15. Francis T. King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.).

⁵⁴³ A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 5. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

⁵⁴⁴ A well-guarded education is for one to feel one with the Quaker community and have a religiously guarded education (Paul A. Lacey. *Growing Into Goodness Essays on Quaker Education*. Pennsylvania: Pendle Hill Publications in cooperation with Friends Council on Education, 1998. 139).

⁵⁴⁵ Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert. *Guilford A Quaker College*. Greensboro, North Carolina: Jos. J. Stone & Company, 1937. 31.

⁵⁴⁶ A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore

6.3. The Reconstruction Act of 1867

In March 1867, Congress passed the Reconstruction Act,⁵⁴⁷ over President Johnson's veto. This act placed the Southern states of America under the temporary military rule. During this time, the law allowed Southern black men to vote but temporarily suspended many white leaders' rights to vote and hold office. Congress passed many Reconstruction laws, even though President Johnson vetoed them. Congress charged President Johnson with autocratic behavior.⁵⁴⁸

The Reconstruction Act of 1867⁵⁴⁹ hurled America into the Congressional period known as Radical Reconstruction. Under this new law, the Republican government started gaining power throughout the South. Under Republican governmental power, they offered to blacks, for the first time in history, a share of political power. The government established the first public school systems in America and also enacted civil rights laws and pushed for measures promoting the region's economic development.⁵⁵⁰

The Reconstruction Acts of 1867⁵⁵¹ also made it illegal for Southern states to prohibit people from voting because of race creating a surge of political mobilization among blacks in the

Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 13. Francis T. King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

⁵⁴⁷ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "Reconstruction Government in the South." Section 4. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc 1995. 1.

⁵⁴⁸ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. +. "Rights and Power The Politics of Reconstruction." Section 4. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 2003. Accessed 24 July 2015. 10.

⁵⁴⁹ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "The National Debate Over Reconstruction; Impeachment; and the Election of Grant." Section 4. 2003. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc 1995. 9.

⁵⁵⁰ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "Reconstruction Government in the South." Section 4. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 2003. 1.

⁵⁵¹ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "Reconstruction Government in the South." Section 4. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 1995. 1.

South.⁵⁵² The passage of the Reconstruction Act of 1867 over President Johnson's veto was a monumental move by Congress. The passing of the law represents the fact that, even though the President of the United States of America has the power to veto any law, sometimes the people of Congress have more power than the President. In this case, Congress firmly believed that The Reconstruction Act of 1867 was a fundamental law for the safety of the nation.

Allowing blacks the right to vote was a significant step in the American political realm during Reconstruction. The Reconstruction Act of 1867 also helped create equality for the newly-freed blacks in the American political system. Many blacks began entering American politics in 1867. Before this time, the only people allowed to vote were white men. No blacks, enslaved or free, and no women, white or black, were allowed to vote.

The Reconstruction Act of 1867 also forced the former Confederate states to hold conventions to create new constitutions, which granted former slaves the rights of citizenship.⁵⁵³ Two hundred and sixty-five blacks, or 25% of the overall delegates, attended these conventions in the South between the years of 1868-1869.⁵⁵⁴ The number of blacks who attended these conventions made them the first public bodies in American history that represented blacks. One example of a convention with a large black attendance was that in the state of Virginia, where black Americans made up nearly one-fifth⁵⁵⁵ of the convention.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁴ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "Rights and Power The Politics of Reconstruction." Section 4. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 1995. 25.

⁵⁵⁵ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "Rights and Power The Politics of Reconstruction." Section 4. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 1995. 25.

The new Louisiana constitution was also rewritten under the Reconstruction Act of 1867.⁵⁵⁷ When the Louisiana Constitutional Convention of 1868⁵⁵⁸ took place, the majority of the blacks who attended were freeborn.⁵⁵⁹

6.4. The Development of New Garden Boarding School and Coloured Schools

This section examines the foundation of New Garden Boarding School. North Carolina Yearly Meeting reported the progression of rebuilding, Founders Hall which was the main building of New Garden Boarding School during the reconstruction period. During Baltimore Yearly Meeting the primary topic was the development of Coloured Schools.

6.4.1. The Foundation of New Garden Boarding School

North Carolina Yearly Meeting would have seen the success of Belvidere Academy, and so they chose to mirror the setup of Belvidere Academy at New Garden Boarding School.⁵⁶⁰ Both Belvidere Academy and New Garden Boarding School⁵⁶¹ were intentionally built away from other communities. Both schools were placed away from the closest towns so Quaker youth would not be distracted or influenced by the local white non-Quaker community. The foremost objective of

⁵⁵⁷ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "Reconstruction Government in the South." Section 4. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 2003. Section 4. 23.

⁵⁵⁸ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "Reconstruction Government in the South." Section 4. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 1995. Section 4. 23.

⁵⁵⁹ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "Reconstruction Government in the South." Section 4. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 2003. 23.

⁵⁶⁰ Mary R. Butt. "The Belvidere Academy." *The Southern Friend*, 1980. 31-32.

⁵⁶¹ When New Garden first opened on 1st of Eighth month, 1837, the students first curriculum consisted of spelling, reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography (illustrated with large maps and globes,) Natural Philosophy, the elements of Chemistry and Astronomy, accompanied with problems in the celestial globes. This was the curriculum that was discussed in with the managers of the New Garden Monthly Meeting in 1832. Horace F. Cannon was the first who gave the address to the managers of the New Garden Monthly Meeting explaining what the curriculum of New Garden Boarding School will consist of (Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert. *Guilford A Quaker College*. Greensboro, North Carolina: Jos. J. Stone& Company, 1937. 22).

the Quakers was to have the Quaker youth fully immersed in the Quaker faith, being guided by teachers both academically and spiritually.

Quaker farmers also pushed for the creation of Quaker schools in North Carolina. These farmers did not have a great deal of education themselves, so they were unable to educate their children in the way they felt their children should be taught. Most of these children from rural farming families had little exposure to the Quaker faith, except on First Day when they attended the meeting. There was no time to teach Quaker children the Quaker faith. Quakers, therefore, sent their youth to either Belvidere Academy or New Garden Boarding School with the expectation that they would learn the Quaker faith.

Belvidere Academy and New Garden Boarding School provided a well-guarded education for the Quaker youth. They wanted the Quaker youth to be raised with Quaker values.

After King and The Association had started their colored schools, Baltimore Yearly Meeting discussed these schools. The Association's report to Baltimore Yearly Meeting gave an overview of how many different types of schools for black students were in Baltimore at the time. King and The Association reported how many students attended these schools. There was also considerable concern on where the black people would be educated since there were not many vacant buildings around Baltimore.

6.4.2. North Carolina Yearly Meeting Report

On 30 September 1868,⁵⁶² Nereus Mendenhall reported to North Carolina Yearly Meeting, which was held at Deep River Meeting, and spoke to King on the progress of rebuilding Founders Hall

⁵⁶² 30th October 1864 (Ancestry Institution. *North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes 1824-1857*. Accessed 11 June 2014).

and building new buildings. During this meeting, they reviewed what the money that King and The Association had given to New Garden Boarding School was going towards.⁵⁶³

6.4.3. Coloured Schools Discussed During Baltimore Yearly Meeting

When the colored schools⁵⁶⁴ were discussed during Baltimore Yearly Meeting in 1869,⁵⁶⁵ they stated that children attending the schools were very young and “educationally inferior.”⁵⁶⁶ Normal classes had 70 students. There were 50 students in the grammar class and 65 students in the primary class. In total, there were 185 black students enrolled in the normal schools, an increase of 60 students over the previous year.⁵⁶⁷

The Meeting discussed the idea that one solution to increase the number of students enrolled in the normal schools was to change the old meeting house into class and study rooms. One big room was to be the library, which would house 1,000 books. The normal schools required \$3,100 to operate for a year. In total students paid \$1,800 to attend the normal schools⁵⁶⁸ the balance of which came from the Meeting.

⁵⁶³ Most of the money went towards rebuilding Founders Hall and buying school supplies (Ancestry Institution. *North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes 1824-1857*. Accessed 11 June 2014).

⁵⁶⁴ The first established Coloured School in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania was 1774, under the guidance of Anthony Benezet (Linda B. Selleck. *Gentle Invaders Quaker Women Educators and Racial Issues During the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Richmond: Friends United Press, 1995. 21).

⁵⁶⁵ During many Yearly Meeting's by the end of the eighteenth century, in the queries section of the meeting the needs for education was expanded to not just Quaker children being educated, but also blacks, poor whites, and Native American Indians (Linda B. Selleck, *Gentle Invaders Quaker Women Educators and Racial Issues During the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Richmond: Friends United Press, 1995. 22).

⁵⁶⁶ *Baltimore Yearly Meeting Minutes*. Baltimore: Baltimore, 1869. 12.

⁵⁶⁷ *Baltimore Yearly Meeting Minutes*. Baltimore: Baltimore, 1869. 12.

⁵⁶⁸ *Baltimore Yearly Meeting Minutes*. Baltimore: Baltimore, 1869. 12.

Numerous black students were enrolling in the normal schools, but there were no places to house them.⁵⁶⁹ The Meeting also discussed the annual cost of the normal schools.⁵⁷⁰ The Meeting wanted to combine the county schools into the general state system of education during the winter of 1869, to make available for more buildings to be built for normal schools.⁵⁷¹

Since the Normal schools were created for “Coloured People,” perhaps this new educational system fuelled racial division. The different schools for whites and blacks could have abetted the creation of the Jim Crow Laws (1890-1965).⁵⁷² This new educational system still oppressed black people because it created a new racial division.

6.5. Chapter Summary

Baltimore Yearly Meeting discussed the works Francis T. King and The Association was doing and asking for aid from Northern Quakers. There was also a procession of different reconstruction acts that were being passed in Washington D.C. at the same time King and The Association were trying to get aid by Northern Quakers. The United States of America was so crippled by the American Civil War that Congress created the Reconstruction Act of 1867, which placed made it illegal for Southern states to prohibit people from voting because of race. This law also placed the Southern States under the temporary military rule.

⁵⁶⁹ *Baltimore Yearly Meeting Minutes*. Baltimore: Baltimore, 1869. 12.

⁵⁷⁰ For a year \$3,100 to keep the Normal Schools up and running. As a whole \$1,800 students paid to attend the schools (*Baltimore Yearly Meeting Minutes*. Baltimore: Baltimore, 1869. 12).

⁵⁷¹ *Baltimore Yearly Meeting Minutes*. Baltimore: Baltimore, 1869. 12.

⁵⁷² Jim Crow Laws (1890-1965) was a racial segregation where blacks and whites could not be together in any way, e.g. white children and black children could not play together. White people and black people could not work at the same places (J. D. Smith. *Managing White Supremacy: Race, Politic and Citizenship in Jim Crow Virginia*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press Chapel Hill, 2002. 1).

New Garden Boarding School, just like its predecessor, Belvidere Academy, was created to give Quaker youth an education rooted in the Quaker faith. In 1869, North Carolina Yearly Meeting reported the creation of New Garden Boarding School and the rebuilding of Founders Hall. In the same year, Baltimore Meeting Yearly Meeting discussed the conditions of the Coloured People and how to educate them through the creation of more Coloured Schools.

Chapter 7

Work After 1869

7.1. Introduction

This chapter examines how King created conferences about higher education within the Quaker community and how higher education seemed to be a major focal point within the white wider-non-Quaker community. It also looks at how the Freedmen's Bureau was disbanded at the end of Reconstruction. The chapter discusses social status after the end of the Civil War and concludes with a section on ongoing white non-Quaker efforts to rebuild North Carolina.

7.2. Higher Educational System

In 1877,⁵⁷³ King set his sights on creating a higher education system for the Quakers living in Baltimore and North Carolina. He created the Conference on Education in the Society of Friends in American Baltimore, where he and other American Quakers discussed the foundations of a higher educational system. Every Gurneyite Yearly Meeting in North America except Iowa, Kansas, and Canada attended. The other meeting was at Earlham College in 1883, which King did not attend because of his health.⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷³ A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 14. Francis T. King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

⁵⁷⁴ A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892.15. Francis T. King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

King's creation of these conferences shows his passion for education. These conferences allowed Quakers to express their thoughts about how a higher education system should be set up and would have helped King and The Association determine how best to meet the Quakers needs when establishing schools in the South. King would draw upon his work at other colleges, such as Bryn Mawr College, when helping establish Guilford College, later in the 1880s. Two more conferences regarding education were held, one which King helped lead in 1880, at Haverford College.⁵⁷⁵

In the vast white non-Quaker community in 1880, higher education was also becoming a priority. Focus on higher education was not only experienced by the Quaker community during the 19th century. Many other communities were attending conferences in the United States and Europe to discuss ideas to provide higher education opportunities for their children. One such community making higher education a priority was the deaf community.

The International Congress was established in 1878 and took place in Paris, France. It was during this meeting that the issues between the hearing and deaf communities were discussed. The Second International Congress⁵⁷⁶ took place in Milan, Italy in 1880, which discussed education for the deaf.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁵ A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892.15. Francis T. King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

⁵⁷⁶ The Second International Congress is also known as The Milan Conference (Margaret. Steedman, International Congress on Education of the Deaf. In *Gallaudet University Connect. Discover. Influence.* 1998) (unpublished), (located at Gallaudet University Archives Washington D.C.).

⁵⁷⁷ The Second International Congress is also known as The Milan Conference (Margaret. Steedman, International Congress on Education of the Deaf. In *Gallaudet University Connect. Discover. Influence.* 1998) (unpublished), (located at Gallaudet University Archives, Washington D.C.).

In 1880, 160 educators from several countries attended the Milan Conference. Italy sent 87 delegates, who join in the discussion about deaf education. There were 56 delegates from France and 8 from England. From the United States, there were 5 delegates, who participated in the conference.⁵⁷⁸ Both Scandinavia and Germany sent 3 delegates as representatives. Lastly, Belgium and Switzerland sent 1 delegate to the Milan Conference (Boatner 1959; Brill 1984).⁵⁷⁹

The major controversy over deaf education in both The International Congress of 1878 held in Paris and the Second International Congress in Milan (the Milan Conference) in 1880 was over manual vs. oral “war of methods.”⁵⁸⁰ The controversy of the teaching methods for the deaf community would last over a century after the Milan Conference had concluded.⁵⁸¹

The Conference about deaf education was taking place at the same time Francis T. King created conferences about higher education within the Quaker community.⁵⁸² The Milan Conference on Deaf Education and the multiple Quaker conferences about education show the

⁵⁷⁸ The five United States of American delegates that attended the Milan Conference were Dr. Thomas H. Gallaudet, Dr. Edward M. Gallaudet, Dr. Isaac Lewis Peet, Dr. Charles A. Stoddard, and James Denison (Denison was the only deaf delegate that attended the conference)(Stephen M. Nover. "Politics and Language: American Sign Language and English in Deaf Education." In *Sociolinguistics in Deaf Communities*, edited by Ceil Lucas, 120-21. Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press, 1996. 121).

⁵⁷⁹ Stephen M. Nover. "Politics and Language: American Sign Language and English in Deaf Education." In *Sociolinguistics in Deaf Communities*, edited by Ceil Lucas. Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press, 1996. 121.

⁵⁸⁰ The manual vs. oral method means the use of manual sign language vs. only using the spoken word to educate people, who are deaf (Margaret. Steedman. International Congress on Education of the Deaf. In *Gallaudet University Connect. Discover. Influence*. 1998 (unpublished), (located at Gallaudet University Archives).

⁵⁸¹ Margaret. Steedman. International Congress on Education of the Deaf. In *Gallaudet University Connect. Discover. Influence*. 1998 (unpublished), (located at Gallaudet University Archives).

⁵⁸² A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 14. Francis T. King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

active discussions of education in 1880 across America.⁵⁸³ Though both Quakers and parents of deaf children wanted the best education, there was little talk about how to pursue education within both communities until the early 1880s. Many Quakers predating Belvidere Academy and New Garden Boarding were farmers and did not have formal education for themselves and was not sure exactly how to create a formal education for their children.

7.3. The End of the Freedmen's Bureau

By 1870, the Freedmen's Bureau was engaging in educational work and processing claims, but by that summer, the superintendents of education withdrew from the South, and the headquarters' staff was largely reduced. From then until the Freedmen's Bureau was disbanded on 10 June 1872 by Congress because they were no longer profitable.⁵⁸⁴

Late in 1873,⁵⁸⁵ the Freedmen's Bureau was no longer in existence. The 2,000 schools⁵⁸⁶ that had been founded and overseen by the Freedmen's Bureau were now being shut down, leaving four and a half-million freedmen with no schools for them to attend.⁵⁸⁷ The denominational schools were being shut down, too, because the state funds that were supposed to go to the schools were instead used to pay soldiers in the Confederate army who served during the American Civil War. White people were both unwilling and unable to pay taxes to keep the freedmen's schools open.⁵⁸⁸

⁵⁸³ A deeper look within the education for the Deaf and linking the Quaker and Deaf communities together educationally is examined with the dissertation Nicole S. Cline, 'Quaker Terms Translated Into American Sign Language' (unpublished paper). Guilford College. North Carolina, 2016.

⁵⁸⁴ *Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, And Abandoned Lands 1865-1872*. Records Of The Field Offices For The State of Virginia. United States Congress and National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC. 2006. (17 Stat. 366) 2.

⁵⁸⁵ Stafford A. Warner. *Yardley Warner - The Freedman's Friend*. Abingdon: The Wessex Press Didcot, 1957. 84.

⁵⁸⁶ Stafford A. Warner. *Yardley Warner - The Freedman's Friend*. Abingdon: The Wessex Press Didcot, 1957. 84.

⁵⁸⁷ Stafford A. Warner. *Yardley Warner - The Freedman's Friend*. Abingdon: The Wessex Press Didcot, 1957. 84.

⁵⁸⁸ Stafford A. Warner. *Yardley Warner - The Freedman's Friend*. Abingdon: The Wessex Press Didcot, 1957. 85.

7.4. The Ending of Reconstruction

In the 1870s,⁵⁸⁹ people in both the South and North retreated from the commitment to equality because of violent opposition, which caused the ending of Reconstruction. By 1876,⁵⁹⁰ the nation was ready to abandon its commitment to equality for all citizens, regardless of race.⁵⁹¹

That the American people abandoned Reconstruction by the 1870s shows that neither the Southerners nor Northerners were fully prepared to rebuild the nation after the American Civil War. Both the Southerners and Northerners had first decided to rebuild the nation, but then realized the difficulties they were facing, such as the complexity and overwhelming tasks of how to rebuild the white communities and then, separate black communities. . Nevertheless, there were some groups, like the Quakers, King, The Association, many non-Quakers, and newly-freed blacks, who took on the massive task of rebuilding the South after the war.

During the American Reconstruction, farmers had to get back to growing food and products like cotton and tobacco to be able to survive and to rejuvenate the Southern economy.⁵⁹²

⁵⁸⁹ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "The Ending of Reconstruction." Section 5. 2003. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 1995. 1.

⁵⁹⁰Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "The Ending of Reconstruction." Section 5. 2003. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 1995. 1.

⁵⁹² When the American Civil War (1861-1865) broke out, Britain turned to getting a large portion of their cotton from India, which they had conquered in the early 1600s and still had a firm grip on in 1861. It was during this time of great strife within America that India profited. In 1862, India had the means to be able to meet the immediate emergency of cotton being imported into Britain. In addition, in the same year of 1862, India shipped a million bales of cotton to Britain. Within two to three years India was able to ship all the products that Britain was getting from America for less money, and could ship the products to Britain faster than their counterparts, America. The American Civil War, had halted the production of any cotton or any other products that was once exported to Britain, which helped the American economy. Though after the American Civil War, America tried their best to start production of cotton and export to Britain, but by then cotton prices had been suppressed within America. This ultimately, meant America could never fully rejuvenate either the Southern economy or the American economy (Frenise A. Logan. "India's Loss of The British Cotton Market After 1865." *The Journal Of Southern History* 31, no. 1 (February 1, 1965): 40-50. Accessed 23/01/2016).

Barbara J. Fields and Harold Woodman give a clear picture which highlights the potentially profound separations over postbellum southern economic development and the national economy. Fields and Woodman take a closer look at the new economic system of sharecropping. Field and Woodman emphasize that sharecropping was a new form of exploitation.⁵⁹³ Woodman emphasizes the radical break with the antebellum socioeconomic order represented by emancipation,⁵⁹⁴ rather than emphasizing debt peonage or even neo-paternalism, the current “conventional wisdom.”⁵⁹⁵

7.5. Social Status after the American Civil War

According to a sociological analysis of social structures, before the American Civil War, social place or status in the South was more definitive. According to Michael Kimmel and Amy Aronson, people have three significant statuses: ascribed status, achieved status, and master status.⁵⁹⁶

In the first, ascribed status, a person has no control over their status. One’s talents, such as being a fast runner or talented with mathematics, are meaningless to this status. Moreover, location and wealth or poverty are obsolete in this status, too. The two things that create ascribed status are genetics or physiology.⁵⁹⁷ At some point in everyone’s lives, they will have an ascribed status due to their age, for example, when they are a child, teenager, or young adult.⁵⁹⁸ Another significant element of this status is that an individual has no control over is being either male or female.

⁵⁹³ Thomas J. Brown. “Reconstructing the Plantation Economy,” *Reconstructions: New Perspectives on the Postbellum United States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. 14.

⁵⁹⁴ Thomas J. Brown. “Reconstructing the Plantation Economy,” *Reconstructions: New Perspectives on the Postbellum United States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. 14.

⁵⁹⁵ Thomas J. Brown. “Reconstructing the Plantation Economy,” *Reconstructions: New Perspectives on the Postbellum United States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. 14.

⁵⁹⁶ Michael Kimmel and Amy Aronson. *Sociology Now*. Boston: Pearson, 2009. 77-78.

⁵⁹⁷ Michael Kimmel and Amy Aronson. *Sociology Now*. Boston: Pearson, 2009. 77.

⁵⁹⁸ Michael Kimmel and Amy Aronson. *Sociology Now*. Boston: Pearson, 2009. 77.

The ascribed status fascinates sociologists because social power and privilege can dominate the other status classes, such as being poor. To turn back to American social structure during Reconstruction, sociologists would say that the war shattered the power accorded to the ascribed status. The whites, who were formerly considered superior, and in power over their black counterparts, who had been considered inferior had lost the power verse inferior identity during Reconstruction.⁵⁹⁹

Achieved status, on the other hand, can be gained through different talents, abilities, efforts, or unique personal characteristics.⁶⁰⁰ For example, running well or high mathematical ability would be part of achieved status. Individuals can change achieved status through their choice of religions, jobs, and political groups. Achieved status builds on the ascribed status. Though people with low ascribed status to achieve higher status. The achieved status is natural talents and abilities and connecting back to the natural abilities each person is born with.⁶⁰¹

Finally, master status supersedes both ascribed and achieved statuses. Master status controls everything within a person's life because both ascribed and achieved statuses are embedded. One chief master status is being poor or rich, since having the money or not profoundly influences the way one lives. Education, food, and healthcare also influence a person's life. One primary master status that influences society is race, while ethnicity and sexual identity are other parts of master status.⁶⁰²

⁵⁹⁹ John H. Franklin *Reconstruction After the Civil War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994. 13.

⁶⁰⁰ Michael Kimmel and Amy Aronson. *Sociology Now*. Boston: Pearson, 2009. 77.

⁶⁰¹ Michael Kimmel and Amy Aronson. *Sociology Now*. Boston: Pearson, 2009. 78.

⁶⁰² Michael Kimmel and Amy Aronson. *Sociology Now*. Boston: Pearson, 2009. 78.

Master status was affected by society during the American Reconstruction period because the old structure of the Southern communities – masters versus slaves - had ended thus leaving the notion that the master status had to be rethought into a new framework to create a new structure of society within America.

Even Karl Marx kept close tabs on what happened during the American Civil War. Marx saw that the structure of America had to be changed and never supported the idea of slavery. Marx viewed slavery as a “cruel version of a much broader conflict between democracy and the rights of property owners.”⁶⁰³

The people, who made up the revolutionary socialists with many other groups, helped win the American Civil War. Thus, the winning of the war created a victory within a larger struggle between democracy and private property.⁶⁰⁴

Though Marx was glad that the Union won the American Civil War, Marx saw that status of the South would be shaken to its foundation and the three main status systems - master status, ascribed status, and achieved status - would need to be redefined. The American people would have to create a new identity by means of ascribed status and achieved status and that it would change from Pre-American War through the American Reconstruction period. Master status would be uprooted.⁶⁰⁵

Examining this critical time within American history, Eric Foner states that scholars have completely changed their minds in the past decades and there has not been a point of scholarly examination so completely overturned as that on Reconstruction.⁶⁰⁶ Foner states that by the end of

⁶⁰³ Andrew Zimmerman. "The Civil War Was a Victory for Marx and Working-Class Radicals." *The New York Times* (July 2, 2013).

⁶⁰⁴ Andrew Zimmerman. "The Civil War Was a Victory for Marx and Working-Class Radicals." *The New York Times* (July 2, 2013).

⁶⁰⁵ Andrew Zimmerman. "The Civil War Was a Victory for Marx and Working-Class Radicals." *The New York Times* (July 2, 2013).

⁶⁰⁶ Eric Foner. *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877*. Harper & Row. 1988. xvii.

the American Civil War there was little worry about who would win the war because at this point slavery was ruined. To the Southern population especially the masters of the plantations who owned slaves, and wanted to sustain the idea of “peculiar institution.” The American Civil War made the Southern masters recognize the horrific truth that, slavery was not going to be part of America. White masters would no longer be able to control blacks by enslaving them. Plus, the white masters quickly realized that they never understood their slaves. One account from a rice planter named, A.L. Taveau suggests he came to the realization before the war that he fully believed that slaves were content with their situation and were attached to their masters. By the end of the American Civil War Taveau comprehended that the blacks for numerous generations had been “looking for the Man of Universal Freedom.”⁶⁰⁷

During the antebellum period single, white women had rights to worship, speak, print, assemble, petition, sue, contract, own property, and could bring diversity cases in federal court, but did not have civil and political rights. They were not allowed to vote, hold office, sit on juries, or serve in militaries. Then in 1866, during the Reconstruction period, it was made clear that all black men would now enjoy all these fundamental rights too.

Scholars, studying the period have examined the political, economic, and military forces on both the Union and Confederate sides of the war to determine what led to the Union winning the war and the Confederate losing including the devastation that the war left behind.

Though in the early days of scholars examining this period, some looked at this period within American history as a shallow point.⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰⁷ Eugene D. Genovese. *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*, (New York, 1974), 112; Joel Williamson, *After the Slavery: The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction, 1861-1877*. Chapel Hill, 1965. There are many variations of the letters that Taveau one of the variations of Taveau letter was published within the *New York Tribune*, June 10, 1865.

⁶⁰⁸ Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, William N. Still Jr. *Why The South Lost the Civil War*. University of Georgia Press.1984. 5.

Within Lacey K. Ford's *Introduction: A Civil War in the Age of Capital*, Ford discusses Eric Hobsbawm, a Marxist historian. Within Hobsbawm's work, *The Age of Capital*, he states that the scholarly investigation of the "nature and origins of the American Civil War" had generated seemingly "endless dispute among historians." However, over time the causes of the war, the contingencies of the war itself, and the long-term impact of the war on American society have all received sufficient attention from scholars through the decades turning the "battle of the books" over the Civil War era into the Hundred Years War of American intellectual life.⁶⁰⁹

7.6. Ongoing White Non-Quaker Efforts at Rebuilding North Carolina

There was considerable debate about how the aid coming from the North into the South would be used.⁶¹⁰ The United States federal and local governments had their own problems as they considered how to rebuild a governmental system in the South. A few non-Quakers, who worked rebuilding the South were: Adelbert Ames, Thaddeus Stevens, The Gibbs brothers, and Blanche Kelso Bruce.

Adelbert Ames

Adelbert Ames (1835-1933) was from Maine. He graduated fifth in his class from the U.S.

Military Academy from West Point. During the American Civil War, Ames was a Union soldier.

He won the Congressional Medal of Honor when he fought in Bull Run.⁶¹¹ During the

⁶⁰⁹ Lacey K. Ford. "Introduction: A Civil War in the Age of Capital" *A Companion to the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Wiley-Blackwell. 2005. 6.

⁶¹⁰ Ronald E. Butchart. *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction Freedmen's Education, 1862-1875*. Connecticut: Green Press, 1980. 11-13.

⁶¹¹ Blanche Ames. Adelbert Ames: General, Senator, Governor, 1835-1933, (London, UK: MacDonald & Company, 1964), 60. and Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. Section 3. "Biographical Sidebar: Adelbert Ames." Section 4. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 1995. 34.

Reconstruction era, he was selected to lead the fourth military district (including Mississippi), which was under the Reconstruction Act of 1867 by President Ulysses S. Grant. In 1870 Ames was elected to the U.S. Senate.⁶¹²

Scholars like John M. Murrin and his colleagues claim that Ames helped through the Reconstruction era by hiring blacks to local offices and arranged for blacks to be eligible to serve on juries. When Ames was Governor of Mississippi, he attempted to reduce the cost of government and create public land obtainable to former slaves.⁶¹³ Nicholas Lemann believed that Ames background and his participation in the Civil War presented Ames with an understanding of the changes society needed. He experienced firsthand the injustices blacks were facing even as soldiers in the war. Then during the beginnings of the Reconstruction era, Ames was sent to help rebuild South Carolina. While Ames was living and helping in South Carolina Ames kept a journal of what he saw there.⁶¹⁴ Michael Megelsh gives the impression that Adelbert Ames was an awe-inspiring person, a fantastic soldier, and Governor of Mississippi. It is his labor as a soldier and effort in politics that helped shape the way he helped others, especially the newly freed blacks.⁶¹⁵

⁶¹² John M. Murrin, Paul E. Johnson, James M. McPherson. "The Retreat From Reconstruction." *Liberty, Equality, Power A History of the American People*. Sixth ed. United States of America: Wadsworth Cengage Learning. 601.

⁶¹³ John M. Murrin, Paul E. Johnson, James M. McPherson "The Retreat From Reconstruction." *Liberty, Equality, Power A History of the American People*. Sixth ed. United States of America: Wadsworth Cengage Learning. 602.

⁶¹⁴ "In affairs of state, I approve of the policy of taking a half if the whole is unattainable. Yet, I know many say unless we have all we will take nothing. This is illustrated by those who in the present crisis cry for negro suffrage. Foolishly, they would let such a plank in a platform be a source of great insecurity-fatally so. But I do not believe in negro suffrage." Another entry said, of the Radical Republicans who were the leading advocates of Negro suffrage, "The extremists seem to me to be almost crazy on many points." (Nicholas Lemann. 'Redemption.' New York Times. Sept. 10, 2006.

⁶¹⁵ Michael Megelsh. "A Mainer From Rockland: Adelbert Ames in the Civil War." Lynchburg: Virginia. Master's Thesis: Liberty University, 2015 8, 87-88.

Thaddeus Stevens

One influential person during the American Reconstruction period was Thaddeus Stevens (1792-1868). Thaddeus Stevens was a Radical Republican in Congress. He was born and educated in the New England area of America. When he became a young man, he moved to Pennsylvania, where he practiced law and later became an iron manufacturer and entered politics.⁶¹⁶

Thaddeus Stevens served numerous terms in the legislature. He was known as a renowned advocate of free public education and supported the rights of Pennsylvania's black population.⁶¹⁷

In 1838, when Stevens was a delegate to the Pennsylvania constitutional, he refused to sign the document that would only allow white males to vote. During the American Civil War, Stevens wanted the administration to free and arm the slaves. By 1865, Stevens was in favor of helping black suffrage in the South.⁶¹⁸

Stevens viewed Reconstruction as an opportunity to create a "perfect republic,"⁶¹⁹ which would be set on the principle of equal rights for all citizens. When Stevens was floor leader of the House of Representatives, he helped guide Reconstruction legislation through Congress. However, he thought it was much too moderate. Stevens own plan was to confiscate Confederate lands. Then separate the land amongst Northern settlers and former slaves, but his idea failed to pass within

⁶¹⁶ Hans L. Trefousse. "Preface." *Thaddeus Stevens Nineteenth-Century Egalitarian*. Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press. 1997. 2.

⁶¹⁷ Samuel Walker McCall. "Entrance Into Public Life – Free Schools." *Thaddeus Stevens*. Houghton, Mifflin. 1899.3.

⁶¹⁸ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. "Biographical Sidebar: Thaddeus Stevens." *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. Section 4. 2003. Section 4. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc.. 2015. 7.

⁶¹⁹ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. "Biographical Sidebar: Thaddeus Stevens." *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. Section 4. 2003. Section 4. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc.2015. 7

the legislature, making it a law.⁶²⁰ In 1868, when Thaddeus Stevens died, he was laid to rest in a small cemetery in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where he remains to this day.⁶²¹

Samuel Walker McCall⁶²² deems Thaddeus Stevens as a great role model during the American Reconstruction era because Stevens' supported education for all in the state of Pennsylvania. In addition, Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney think Thaddeus Stevens was a forward thinker because he was in favor of helping the newly-freed blacks during the Reconstruction era. Hans L. Trefousse believes that Thaddeus Stevens influence in Congress made him a valuable person during the Reconstruction era.

The Gibbs Brothers

Both Mifflin Gibbs and Jonathan Gibbs had a successful political career. The Gibbs brothers created vast changes within the American Federal Government.

Mifflin Gibbs was a building contractor, who was active during the antislavery movement. In 1850, Mifflin Gibbs departed from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and headed to California, to take part in the gold rush. From 1897 to 1901, Mifflin Gibbs was a U. S. consul in Madagascar.⁶²³

After the American Civil War was over, Jonathan Gibbs went to North Carolina, the United States of America as a religious missionary. While in North Carolina he opened a school for the freed people. In 1868, Jonathan Gibbs was chosen as Secretary of State. In 1873, he became the

⁶²⁰ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. "Biographical Sidebar: Thaddeus Stevens." *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. Section 4. 2003. Section 4. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 2015. 7.

⁶²¹Hans L. Trefousse. "Preface." *Thaddeus Stevens Nineteenth-Century Egalitarian*. Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press. 1997. 1.

⁶²² Samuel Walker McCall. "Entrance Into Public Life – Free Schools." *Thaddeus Stevens*. Houghton, Mifflin. 1899.3.

⁶²³ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney "Biographical Sidebar: Mifflin Gibbs and Jonathan Gibbs." *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. Section 4. 2003. Section 4. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc.. 2003, 30-31.

only African American to hold statewide office in Florida during the American Reconstruction period.⁶²⁴

Blanche Kelso Bruce

Blanche Kelso Bruce was born a slave (1841-1898).⁶²⁵ There is speculation that he was the son of his master, who was a Virginia planter. Bruce was educated by the same private tutor that his master's legitimate child had. Bruce had a successful political career in Bolivar County, Mississippi. Bruce was in the United States Senate from 1875-1881. While Bruce was in office, he worked to gain federal aid for economic development in Mississippi.⁶²⁶

Lawrence Otis Graham⁶²⁷ illustrates the challenges that Bruce faced while in the Senate. In the Senate, there was a significant division between the white and black senators. The nation was dealing with trying to rebuild the United States after the end of the Civil War. The American government was creating different reconstruction plans; laws were being passed to try to create a more stable nation. Blanche Kelso Bruce was famous because he was the first black man to be elected Senator to serve a full term within the United States Senate.⁶²⁸

Scholars such as Eric Foner, Olivia Mahoney, David G. Sansing, Hans L. Trefousse, Samuel Walker McCall, and Lawrence Otis Graham gives examples on how both influential white

⁶²⁴ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. "Biographical Sidebar: Mifflin Gibbs and Jonathan Gibbs." *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. Section 4. 2003. Section 4. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc.2003, 30-31.

⁶²⁵ Lawrence Otis Graham. "1875 A Senator Is Sworn In and Dynasty Begins." *The Senator and the Socialite: The True Story*. New York: HarperCollins. 2006. XXI.

⁶²⁶ Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. "Biographical Sidebar: Mifflin Gibbs and Jonathan Gibbs." *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. Section 4. 2003. Section 4. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc.2003, 27.

⁶²⁷ Lawrence Otis Graham. "1875 A Senator Is Sworn In and Dynasty Begins." *The Senator and the Socialite: The True Story*. New York: HarperCollins. 2006. 2-4.

⁶²⁸ Lawrence Otis Graham. "1875 A Senator Is Sworn In and Dynasty Begins." *The Senator and the Socialite: The True Story*. New York: HarperCollins. 2006. 1.

and black men impacted the American Federal Government and the nation. In addition, within these scholars' works, also show the tension that was occurring within the political realm between white and black representatives.

Butchart argues that the South had to be restructured using the North as a model, which would help preserve the nation and reunite both the Northern and Southern states.⁶²⁹ As Reconstruction began, two general problems emerged: first, the newly-freed blacks needed help to prepare to become United States citizens, and secondly, the South needed to be restructured. Both non-Quakers and Quakers saw that education would accomplish both goals. If the newly-freed blacks were to get a good education, they could ensure to raise a family and contribute to the United States with their new knowledge and skills. The United States Federal Government also saw education as the key to creating a stable republic.⁶³⁰

Fundamental to this goal was educating the Southern masses, and specifically the newly-freed blacks. However, outside of the Quaker community, education was not seen as a priority at the beginning of Reconstruction. Although before the American Civil War North Carolina had established one of the most extensive public school systems in the South, with about 150,000 children attending more than 3,000 public schools in 1860, by the end of the Civil War, there was not enough money to rebuild the public school system.⁶³¹

⁶²⁹Ronald E. Butchart. *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction Freedmen's Education, 1862-1875*. Connecticut: Green Press, 1980. 13.

⁶³⁰ Ronald E. Butchart. *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction Freedmen's Education, 1862-1875*. Connecticut: Green Press, 1980. 14.

⁶³¹ Linda B. Selleck. *Gentle Invaders Quaker Women Educators and Racial Issues During the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Richmond: Friends United Press, 1995. 61.note point from examiners about references 424 – 427 can be cut

In Southern culture before the American Civil War, public education was not seen as essential for whites, much less for blacks.⁶³² After the war, the majority of the people believed aid needed to go towards agriculture and to rebuild the South, before trying to rebuild an educational system.⁶³³ Before the American Civil War had ended, though, Union soldiers created camps where escaped slaves could live and created schools where the slaves could be educated.

Stephen Weeks does not give Baltimore Yearly Meeting or King enough acknowledgment for reporting how the citizens of Baltimore were affected by slavery and the aftermath of the American Civil War. As quoted below, King himself explains in his memoirs - *Francis T. King Reminiscences* - the impact of slavery had in Baltimore primarily on his conscience.⁶³⁴

Weeks states, "It was not thought to well to include the Baltimore Yearly Meeting for the reason that lies only in part in Maryland and extending into Pennsylvania, where the emancipation sentiment was strong, there was not the same heroism implied in opposition to slavery as in the more southern Yearly Meetings."⁶³⁵ Although Weeks has a valid point, he also forgets how divided the city of Baltimore was over slavery, and the impact slavery had in both the Quaker and white non-Quaker community in Baltimore. Slavery was still part of Baltimore society when King was growing up. Baltimore had a sizeable group of slaves, which did not just include black slaves, but Irish and German slaves too.⁶³⁶ While in the Southern States specifically in the deeper South the dominant slavery population consisted of blacks.

⁶³² Linda B. Selleck. *Gentle Invaders Quaker Women Educators and Racial Issues During the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Richmond: Friends United Press, 1995. 7.

⁶³³Ronald E. Butchart. *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction Freedmen's Education, 1862-1875*. Connecticut: Green Press, 1980. 3-4.

⁶³⁴ See chapter two.

⁶³⁵ Stephen Weeks. *Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History*. Baltimore: University of North Carolina and Johns Hopkins University Studies, 1896. Vii.

⁶³⁶ Don Jordan and Michael Walsh. *White Cargo The Forgotten History of Britain's White Slaves in America*. New York: New York University press, 2008. 1-2.

Why has scholars not focused on King, and his Friends of The Association? Why does it seem that North Carolina Quakers only briefly acknowledge King was a prominent figure. Why are not Baltimore Friends more aware of one of their members of Baltimore Meeting? Is there evidence to even back up why King was so famous? The evidence for this starts with King rebuilding New Garden Boarding School. Then his work expanded out to build schools for the newly freed blacks and rebuilding the public white school system. This picture is backed up by evidence from Mary Mendenhall Hobbs and her father, Nereus Mendenhall. There is a more in depth look on these questions in chapter 8.

Scholars such as, Eric Foner, James J. Brown, and a multitude of others,⁶³⁷ who have examined The American Reconstruction period, have completely overlooked the works of the Quaker community. Instead, they have focused their attention in a different direction, overlooking the individual who ignited the reconstruction of education. The North Carolina Quakers working in tandem with Francis T. King, The Association, numerous Northern Quaker communities, and even the British Quakers sent aid acquired for the Friends in North Carolina.

Why King was the driving force behind the progression of reconstruction can be connected to his private conversation with President Lincoln and Vice-president Stanton. It is due to King going to speak to the leader of America during the American Civil War and post-war, the situation that the Quakers and non-Quakers in North Carolina were experiencing. All the people living in

⁶³⁷ Eric Foner. "Liberated and Unfree." *The New York Times* (January 31, 2014) Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877. Harper & Row. 1988. Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney, *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "Free Labour." Section 3. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 1995., Thomas Brown. *Reconstructions: New Perspectives on the Postbellum United States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006, Ronald E. Butchart. *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction Freedmen's Education, 1862-1875*. Connecticut: Green Press, 1980, Thomas J. Brown, "Reconstructing the Plantation Economy," *Reconstructions: New Perspectives on the Postbellum United States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. John H. Franklin *Reconstruction after the Civil War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

North Carolina were literally starving because the Civil War had destroyed the agriculture system. The foundations of the South were on the brink of collapse due to the end of slavery and the war, leaving blacks homeless and the masters furious because they had just lost their workforce. North Carolina and its people were in dire need of help. Francis T. King stepped in and rebuilt the state thus pulling the Quaker and non-Quaker communities out of ruins. King gave a new agricultural system and educational system to help the new generations grow and be able to successfully keep the state of North Carolina progressing.

7.7. Chapter Summary

This chapter has charted King's role in the development of higher education in the 1870s and 1880s and how it was part of a more comprehensive initiative. It has also looked at the end of the Freedmen's Bureau and the end of the Reconstruction period. Different ideas of status have been discussed, as have white non-Quaker attempts at rebuilding North Carolina.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

King was raised in the traditional, unprogrammed Baltimore Meeting. When King was 19 years old,⁶³⁸ he met Gurney and formed his life around his teachings. He was also influenced by his parents. He became a philanthropist and brilliant businessman, becoming wealthy from the newly-built Baltimore and Ohio railroad and retiring at the age of 42.⁶³⁹ He then focused all his attention on helping North Carolina and the South rebuild after the American Civil War had left them in ruins.

For many years before the outbreak of the American Civil War, both Quakers and non-Quakers made significant efforts to change society by advocating for the abolition of slavery. In secret, Friends used the Underground Railroad to help runaway slaves escape to the North and Midwestern States. Ultimately, America broke out into Civil War, and the liberation of the slaves was the outcome.

During Reconstruction after the American Civil War, King stepped in with financial aid to help both Quaker and white non-Quaker communities in North Carolina. King made several trips to North Carolina with the help of President Lincoln, who gave him a pass enabling him to travel freely from the North to the South.⁶⁴⁰ Both Quaker and white non-Quaker communities struggled

⁶³⁸ A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1892. 5. Francis T King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

⁶³⁹ Mendenhall Hobbs, Memorial Francis T. King letter, p. 1 (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

⁶⁴⁰ A copy of the pass that Abraham Lincoln signed can be found in Guilford College's Historical Collection within the Francis King file (Francis T. King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.).

to repair the physical damage and their lives. To aid the North Carolinian people and the South, the Baltimore Friends established The Baltimore Association to Advise and Assist Friends in the Southern States (1865-1885),⁶⁴¹ with King as the president.

If King and The Association had not contributed financially and collected supplies and materials and put in place a new agricultural system, countless North Carolinian and Southern people would have perished.

The examination of the Quaker King's life and works with The Association creates a fuller picture of the struggles that occurred within the Quaker, non-Quaker, and the newly-freed slaves' communities in North Carolina.

The first major issue that King and The Association faced was how to rebuild the Quaker and white non-Quaker communities, which had been torn apart. Their second major issue was how to create a new community for the newly-freed blacks. Many questions lingered during Reconstruction about how to establish a place in society for the newly-freed blacks. Should the white, dominant power within society integrate the blacks into the already-existing white community or should the blacks create their community? Further research of the impact of King and The Association were concerned with all three groups, wider –non-Quaker community, black community, and the Quaker community. Scholars focus only participation of The American Federal Government and the political point of view.

When scholars examine this period in American history, many seem to miss the stages of transformation and that had to take place to rebuild North Carolina. Most scholars just look at the

⁶⁴¹ Another named for The Baltimore Association to Advise and Assist Friends in the Southern States is “The Association” (*Francis T. King His Life and Work*. 7. Francis T. King file (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.).

logistics of Reconstruction, never fully grasping society's shifts and the re-creation of segregation from slavery to sharecropping, which created more visual segregation during Reconstruction.

Reconstruction seems to be more a reconstruction of segregation than a reconstruction of equality. Both historical scholars and American studies scholars do not seem to place enough value on the depth and different forms of changes which took place during Reconstruction. These scholars, rather, focus on single aspects instead of taking a holistic view encompassing the breakthroughs that took place within the white non-Quaker communities, the black communities, and the re-establishment of the Quaker communities. The contributions of all three groups during Reconstruction helped rebuild North Carolina. Both historical scholars and American studies scholars claim that Reconstruction was one of the lowest points in American history. This period is looked at as such a tragedy because scholars have not given it enough examination, nor unveiled the true transformation which took place during Reconstruction.

This work is a long overdue examination of the contributions and initiation of Reconstruction by Francis King and the Association in North Carolina that funnels further South. Examination of King, a forgotten figure, and his work with The Association helps support the view that Quakers took the first steps to help rebuild North Carolina. Afterward, many non-Quakers and blacks followed in the Quakers' footsteps and started working in tandem to rebuild and create new communities throughout North Carolina and in the South.

Some accounts of King and The Association's rebuilding of North Carolina come from *The German Correspondent* which reports several different organizations that King belonged too.⁶⁴² King gave many different speeches, such as on 17 April 1885,⁶⁴³ when he spoke at Harford

⁶⁴² "Brundfrüas Transferences." *The German Correspondent*, 17 April 1885.

⁶⁴³ "Brundfrüas Transferences." *The German Correspondent*, 17 April 1885.

College,⁶⁴⁴ in Harford County, Maryland. *The German Correspondent* credits Francis T. King and The Association with having a fundamental impact on rebuilding the South.⁶⁴⁵

King and The Association received a vast amount of publicity. Newspapers in both the North, such as *The German Correspondent* and in the South, like *The Tri-Weekly Standard* (Raleigh, NC), reported on King and The Association's accomplishments in the South. Even *The Friend* (London, England) admired King and his colleagues, giving them credit and thanking them for their work rebuilding South.

This publicity for his work might have helped King collect donations from people around America and in England. Since the newspaper was the primary form of media at this time, he stood out in both the Quaker and white non-Quaker communities. This may be why both Quakers and white non-Quaker people recognized him when he spoke about conditions in the South.

Most historians, who examine the Reconstruction period, post-American Civil War have four significant areas they examine: political, economic, agricultural, and social.⁶⁴⁶ Scholars such as, Eric Foner, Pamela Brandwein, Michael S. Paulsen, and Luke Paulsen focus on how the broader white non-Quaker community upheld segregation between the two major communities, whites, and blacks⁶⁴⁷ through examining the two school systems that were created in North Carolina and

⁶⁴⁴ During Francis T. King, speech he spoke about higher education. He asked for financial help so The Baltimore Association to Advise and Assist Friends in the Southern States could help create a higher education system in North Carolina ("Brundfrüas Transferences." *The German Correspondent*, 17 April 1885).

⁶⁴⁵ "Brundfrüas Transferences." *The German Correspondent*, 17 April 1885.

⁶⁴⁶ Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, William N. Still Jr. *Why The South Lost the Civil War*. University of Georgia Press.1984. 5.

⁶⁴⁷ Eric Foner. "Liberated and Unfree." *The New York Times* (January 31, 2014). Pamela Brandwein. *Rethinking the Judicial Settlement of Reconstruction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. 138. And Michael S. Paulsen and Luke Paulsen. *The Constitution: Introduction*. Basic Books 2015. 66 Case W. Res. L. Rev. 293. 2015. 155.

the South. Michael S. Paulsen and Luke Paulsen suggest⁶⁴⁸ that the way the Constitution was written it upheld segregation as they believed that the document was for only white men.⁶⁴⁹ It was not until the American Civil War was over that the Thirteenth Amendment was ratified⁶⁵⁰ and slavery had ended. In actuality, slavery then evolved to a new type of slavery, as Douglas A. Blackmon examines in his book *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from The Civil War to World War II*.⁶⁵¹ American society, mostly within the Southern States, created the systems of sharecropping and tenant farming. W.E.B. Du Bois claims in his book *Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880*, that slavery was a matter of color and race. As long as the color and race lines were created with the mass “white” population, there could and would not be equality, whereas the United States Constitution⁶⁵² stated, “all men were created equal.”⁶⁵³ Both Douglas A. Blackmon and W.E.B. Du Bois bring scholars awareness that the American Reconstruction period was still very unequal when it came to creating new South. The white community, who had owned slaves and used this system for profit, was angry and would do

⁶⁴⁸ Michael S. Paulsen and Luke Paulsen. *The Constitution: Introduction*. Basic Books 2015. 66 Case W. Res. L. Rev. 293. 2015. 155.

⁶⁴⁹ The Constitution allowed recovery of fugitive slaves. Though never said anything about the right to willingly take slaves to a free state (Paul Frinkelman. "The Supreme Court and Slavery in the 1850s." States' Rights, Southern Hypocrisy and the Crisis of the Union. *Race, Racism And The Law No Struggle, No Progress!* (October 29, 2012).

⁶⁵⁰ Thirteenth Amendment XIII, Section 1. “Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction,” (passed by Congress 31, 1865. National Archives. “Constitution of the United States Amendments 11-27.” Accessed 28 January 2015. <https://www.archives.gov/historical-docs/13th-amendment>).

⁶⁵¹ Douglas A. Blackmon. *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II*. New York: Random House, 2008. 1.

⁶⁵² United States Constitution was signed on 17 September 1787 in the city of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (The Library of Congress. "United States Constitution." Accessed 30 October 2014).

⁶⁵³ The Library of Congress. "United States Constitution." Accessed 30 October 2014.

anything in their power to design a new system of slavery. The white community did this by creating sharecroppers, although this time, poor white people were subjected to being slaves too.⁶⁵⁴

Edmund Burke wrote about slavery, “Slavery they can have everywhere. It is a weed that grows in every soil.”⁶⁵⁵ Burke’s statement is correct in that slavery in America took off rapidly and kept climbing until the American Civil War put an end to one type of slavery, but created a new one.⁶⁵⁶

David Brown and Clive Webb, *Race in the American South From Slavery to Civil Rights*, explain the distribution of crops, such as, tobacco were grown in the Upper South and rice in the Lower South.⁶⁵⁷ The way these crops were grown in some regions of America affected the type of labor that was needed.⁶⁵⁸ Crops like rice, sugar, and corn would have to be grown again very quickly because the Southern people were starving as the Quaker Yardley Warner states in his letters to *the letter from North Carolina*.⁶⁵⁹ Even Francis T. King realized that The Association had to recreate agriculture quickly, which The Association did via crop rotation.⁶⁶⁰ However, as Keith R. Baldwin suggests, crop rotation can take time for the recovery of soil to grow crops.

⁶⁵⁴ Don Jordan and Michael Walsh within their book *White Cargo The Forgotten History of Britain’s White Slaves in America* (2008) examine closer the different white slave groups from the United Kingdom area, who became slaves both in England and in America (Don Jordan and Michael Walsh. *White Cargo The Forgotten History of Britain’s White Slaves in America*. New York: New York University press, 2008). 11.

⁶⁵⁵ Don Jordan and Michael Walsh. “In The Shadow Of The Myth.” *White Cargo The Forgotten History of Britain’s White Slaves in America*. New York: New York University press, 2008). 11.

⁶⁵⁶ Don Jordan and Michael Walsh. “In The Shadow Of The Myth.” *White Cargo The Forgotten History of Britain’s White Slaves in America*. New York: New York University press, 2008). 11.

⁶⁵⁷ David Brown, and Clive Webb. “The Paradoxical Institution: Antebellum Slavery,” *Race in the American South From Slavery to Civil Rights*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007. 35.

⁶⁵⁸ Douglas R. Egerton. *The Wars of Reconstruction The Brief, Violent History Of America's Most Progressive Era*. New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2014. 1.

⁶⁵⁹ Stafford A. Warner. *Yardley Warner The Freedman’s Friend*. Abingdon: The Wessex Press Didcot, 1957. 66.

⁶⁶⁰ Mary Mendenhall Hobbs. Memorial Francis T. King letter, p. 2 (unpublished), located in The Historical Collection at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, U.S.A.

Right after the American Civil War, there was no time to allow the soil to become acclimated to how the war had left the land damaged and many parts of the land were no longer salvageable to grow crops.

The damage from the war made crop rotation difficult because the problem was to figure out which sections of land were healthy enough to grow crops. Baldwin also claims that war-damaged lands can take many years for the soil to recover and be farmable again.⁶⁶¹

Baldwin's point on the devastation of land of a result of war is a critical factor, which some scholars have not addressed when examining the American Reconstruction period. Though crop failure was something all farmers from all communities would dread, for instance, after which the American lands some time to produce enough fertile soil to grow crops on again.

Frenise A. Logan, in his work "India's Loss of The British Cotton Market After 1865"⁶⁶², also raises the fact that Americans had to start producing cotton very quickly after the American Civil War to resume exporting to Britain. American reliance on Britain's economic support is a significant reason The South was still growing economically during the American Slavery period.

Though America used slave labor to continue to export cotton and other products to Britain Logan disagrees with David Brown and Clive Webb because they only casually acknowledge the point of America sending goods to Britain, and instead focus their attention on how slavery was used to grow crops in America for the plantation owners. Britain was fueling slavery in America, even while Britain themselves had abolished slavery in 1833.

⁶⁶¹ Keith R. Baldwin. "Crop Rotations on Organic Farms." Center for Environmental Farming Systems. 1992. 3.

⁶⁶² Frenise A. Logan. "India's Loss of The British Cotton Market After 1865." *The Journal of Southern History* 31, no. 1 (February 1, 1965): 40-50. Accessed 23/01/2016).

Yet, as Logan correctly noted, the American Civil War had done so much damage and hurt economic relations with Britain that Britain starting buying cotton from India. David Brown and Clive Webb support Blackmon's idea of slavery changing during the American Reconstruction period.⁶⁶³ Michael Kimmel and Amy Aronson back up David Brown and Clive Webb's claims that the American Civil War created social ramifications; such as, going from one type of slavery, slave verse master to sharecropping being another form of slavery.⁶⁶⁴

Kimmel and Aronson also acknowledge that the social framework would change dramatically from a mixed community to very divided and separate communities, white and black. David Brown and Clive Webb⁶⁶⁵ also discuss this.

Ronald E. Butchart, in his work,⁶⁶⁶ argues that when the South had to use the North as a model, when there had been just a division between the North and South for years, created a clash between the Southern people and the Northern people. James L. Hunt suggests that this distrust between Northern and Southern people created The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and The Red Shirts.⁶⁶⁷

Linda B. Selleck,⁶⁶⁸ argues that the Southern people were not resisting Northern people's help, but that some white people in the South had problems with how many of the Northern people were solely coming into the Southern States to create schools for the newly freed blacks. They were not helping white non-Quaker communities set up schools for the white children, who needed

⁶⁶³ David Brown and Clive Webb. *Race in the American South From Slavery to Civil Rights*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007. 170. and Douglas A. Blackmon. *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II*. New York: Random House, 2008. 1.

⁶⁶⁴ David Brown and Clive Webb. *Race in the American South From Slavery to Civil Rights*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007. 170-172.

⁶⁶⁵ David Brown and Clive Webb. *Race in the American South From Slavery to Civil Rights*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007.

⁶⁶⁶ *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction Freedmen's Education, 1862-1875*.

⁶⁶⁷ James L. Hunt. "Red Shirts." *Encyclopedia of North Carolina*, edited by William S. Powell, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006 (953-954).

⁶⁶⁸ Linda B. Selleck *Gentle Invaders Quaker Women Educators and Racial Issues During the Civil War and Reconstruction*.

education too. However, Josiah C. Kent⁶⁶⁹ and Sandy D. Martin⁶⁷⁰ argue that Samuel Ashely is a crucial reason why the Southern people might have experienced some progress because he decided that he should oversee two separate school system, ones for whites and another one for blacks.

Dunning and his students explore the battles between Andrew Johnson and Congress over control of reconstruction and not agreeing on which direction they wanted to rebuild the nation, suggesting that Andrew Johnson and Congress could never come to any cohesive agreements during Johnson's presidency.⁶⁷¹

The conclusion reached by William A. Dunning and the Columbia University students was both works created an intellectual foundation for the setup of segregation and black disenfranchisement, which followed Reconstruction. Another point, William A. Dunning and the Columbia students make, was if any efforts were made to restore the rights of blacks living in the South, would lead to a repeat of the alleged horrors of Reconstruction.⁶⁷²

Thaddeus Stevens is a prime example: Stevens went to great lengths to go in front of the Senate to give evidence on why President Andrew Johnson should be impeached. However, the impeachment of Andrew Johnson failed in 1868⁶⁷³ showing that some people like Thaddeus Stevens saw how inadequate Andrew Johnson was to lead a broken nation.⁶⁷⁴

⁶⁶⁹Josiah C. Kent. "REV. Samuel S. Ashley." *Northborough History*. Newton: Garden City Press, 1921.

⁶⁷⁰ Josiah C. Kent and Sandy D. Martin. *For God and Race: The Religious and Political Leadership of AMEZ Bishop James Walker Hood*.

⁶⁷¹ Howard K. Beale. "On Rewriting Reconstruction History." *The American Historical Review* 45, no. 4 (July 1940): 807.

⁶⁷² Southern whites that supported the new government were called "scalawag," (Eric Foner. "Why Reconstruction Matters." *The New York Times*, March 28, 2015, sec. SR1, p. SR1). 9 August 2015.

⁶⁷³ David O. Stewart. *Impeached: The Trial of President Andrew Johnson And The Fight For Lincoln's Legacy*. "Impeachment, Round Three: December 12, 1867-February 15, 1868." New York: Simon & Schuster. 2009. 124-125.

⁶⁷⁴ David O. Stewart. *Impeached: The Trial of President Andrew Johnson And The Fight For Lincoln's Legacy*. "Impeachment, Round Three: December 12, 1867-February 15, 1868." New York: Simon & Schuster. 2009. 124-125.

A group of scholars, Roger Ransom, Richard Sutch, and Robert Higgs, Jonathan Wiener, Michael Wayne, Gerald Jaynes, dispute the idea that sharecropping rose because former slave owners demanded that former slaves continue to work and keep trade going within the South.⁶⁷⁵ Eric Foner describes sharecropping “as a compromise not fully satisfactory to either party.”⁶⁷⁶ Douglas A. Blackmon and W.E.B. Du Bois argue with Foner’s statement about sharecropping being a compromise but claim instead that it was a way for the white masters to try to regain slavery and go back to the Old South⁶⁷⁷ Peter J. Parish looks at of the slavery period within the South in a similar way.⁶⁷⁸ Additionally, W.E.B. Du Bois argues that slavery was a means to keep color and races divided.⁶⁷⁹

However, Don Jordan and Michael Walsh argue with W.E.B. Du Bois in his statement that slavery was purely about color and race. They argued that there have been white slaves in Europe and America before Africans enslavement. Jordan and Walsh thus argue that W.E.B. Du Bois is only pushing one agenda and viewpoint, which is how blacks were slaves. Even Aristotle may take exception to W.E.B. Du Bois making the bold claim that slavery was a matter of color and race since Aristotle would have seen Greeks who were slaves.⁶⁸⁰ This challenges the agenda W.E.B. Du Bois is trying to push linking color and race to slavery. W.E.B. Du Bois would say color and

⁶⁷⁵ Thomas J. Brown. “Reconstructing the Plantation Economy,” *Reconstructions: New Perspectives on the Postbellum United States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. 12.

⁶⁷⁶ Thomas J. Brown. “Reconstructing the Plantation Economy,” *Reconstructions: New Perspectives on the Postbellum United States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. 12-13.

⁶⁷⁷ Peter J. Parish. “The Paradoxical Institution: Antebellum Slavery,” David Brown, and Clive Webb. *Race in the American South From Slavery to Civil Rights*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007. 119.

⁶⁷⁸ David Brown and Clive Webb. “The Paradoxical Institution: Antebellum Slavery,” *Race in the American South From Slavery to Civil Rights*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007. 119.

⁶⁷⁹ W.E.B. Du Bois. *Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880*. New York: First Free Press, 1992. 4-7.

⁶⁸⁰ W.E. B. Du Bois solely only looks at the black slaves within the United States. He does not take into consideration the Irish slaves that were slaves during the slavery period within America (W.E.B. Du Bois. *Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880*. New York: First Free Press, 1992. 4-7. And Don Jordan and Michael Walsh. *White Cargo The Forgotten History of Britain’s White Slaves in America*. New York: New York University press, 2008. 1-2).

race creates divisions. Scholars like Eric Foner, Olivia Mahoney, David Brown, and Clive Webb agree with W.E.B. Du Bois, but also agree that Don Jordan and Michael Walsh have a valid point. History and archaeology have proven that there were white slaves from the European nations in America before, during, and after the American Civil War. The white slaves would be grouped in with the poor whites, who were subjected to becoming slaves through sharecropping.⁶⁸¹

Scholars, who have studied this period that leads up to the end of the American Civil War have looked at the political and economic forces on both the Union and Confederate side of the war to determine what led to the Union winning the war and the Confederates losing.

In 1944, Charles W. Ramsdell stated that economic difficulties combined with military defeat sapped Confederate morale. Another historical scholar, E. Merton Coulter, stated the reason the Confederacy lost was due to the fact they, “did not will hard enough and long enough to win.”⁶⁸²

In November of 1958 a group of five Historians, David M. Potter, Norman A. Graebner, Richard N. Current, T. Harry, and David Donald came together at a conference held at Gettysburg College. During this meeting, these historians examined the interpretations explaining why the North won the American Civil War.⁶⁸³

David M. Potter selected to examine the performance of Jefferson Davis, his concept of the presidency, and his role as Commander in Chief. Potter states that if Jefferson Davis and Abraham Lincoln had been in each other’s position, the Confederate South might have won the American Civil War.⁶⁸⁴

⁶⁸¹ Don Jordan and Michael Walsh. *White Cargo The Forgotten History of Britain’s White Slaves in America*. New York: New York University press, 2008. 1-2).

⁶⁸² Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, William N. Still Jr. *Why The South Lost the Civil War*. University of Georgia Press.1984. 5.

⁶⁸³ Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, William N. Still Jr. *Why The South Lost the Civil War*. University of Georgia Press. 1984. 4.

⁶⁸⁴ David M. Potter. “Historians and the Civil War.” Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, William N. Still Jr. *Why The South Lost the Civil War*. University of Georgia Press.1984. 4.

Norman A. Graebner examined the superior Northern diplomacy and European neutrality. He determined that Secretary of State, William H. Seward, had made it clear that Europe would pay a high price if it decided to identify with the Confederacy.⁶⁸⁵

T. Harry Williams claimed that Northern victory resulted from excellent Northern and inferior Southern military leadership because the South was undone by devotion to the place-oriented strategy of Antoine Henri Jomini.⁶⁸⁶ Antoine Henri Jomini used the scientific approach to warfare.⁶⁸⁷ David Donald believed that the Confederacy lost the war because it refused to surrender its democratic ideals.⁶⁸⁸ David Donald believed that the Confederacy lost the war because it refused to surrender its democratic ideals.⁶⁸⁹

Though these five historians understood they had taken just one stance as their primary arguments, they also fully understood that their ideas overlapped and were not new or revolutionary. To be clear, these historians state that the historiography of the reached back to the beginning of the American Civil War.⁶⁹⁰

Numerous Northerners fully believed that the reason they won the Civil War was due to the moral superiority of their cause. Southerners believed they lost the war due to their adversary's superior resources. As time elapsed, interpretations became more refined and less simplistic. Historians then started deliberating about military strategy, military superiority, leadership,

⁶⁸⁵ Norman A. Graebner, "Historians and the Civil War." Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, William N. Still Jr. *Why The South Lost the Civil War*. University of Georgia Press.1984. 4.

⁶⁸⁶ T. Harry Williams, "Historians and the Civil War." Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, William N. Still Jr. *Why The South Lost the Civil War*. University of Georgia Press.1984. 4.

⁶⁸⁷ Jomini viewed military soldiers as a machine that all parts have to work together in union to accomplice a common goal. It was the use of all parts of the Northern military soldiers working together, which brought down the Southern soldiers and the South (Carol Reardon. *With A Sword in one hand & Jomini in the Other The Problem of Military Thought in the Civil War North*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press Chapel Hill, 2012. 12-14).

⁶⁸⁸ David Donald, "Historians and the Civil War." Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, William N. Still Jr. *Why The South Lost the Civil War*. University of Georgia Press.1984. 4.

⁶⁸⁹ David Donald, "Historians and the Civil War." Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, William N. Still Jr. *Why The South Lost the Civil War*. University of Georgia Press.1984. 4.

⁶⁹⁰ Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, William N. Still Jr. *Why The South Lost the Civil War*. University of Georgia Press.1984. 4.

political factors, diplomacy, and the tension between localism and centralism. Many historians believe the reason the Confederate South was defeated is due to these issues. For instance, Donald argues that due to the rejection of monocausation⁶⁹¹ and other economic difficulties such as lack of resources, inflation, the blockade, desertion, malnutrition, physical devastation, inferior manpower resulted in a lack of a system of political parties to assist Jefferson Davis to assemble support.⁶⁹²

Most of the battles occurred within the Southern States. Both Southern non-Quakers and Southern Quakers were left on the brink of homeless. Southern and Northern white non-Quaker men including very young men went off to fight in the war leaving whole families to survive the without them. Southern white non-Quaker families suffered the most. The Southern Quaker community also suffered; they did not lose loved ones due to the war, but they suffered from the pillaging of soldiers, fugitives, and draft dodgers taking materials as they passed by. Therefore, Southern Quakers, who remained in the North Carolina area, suffered through others' actions, not their own. Quakers who upheld their testimony of peace and being pacifists still faced the aftermath of the American Civil War.

The Southern Quakers along with non-Quakers and blacks became refugees during the war. When the Reconstruction period started, the Northern and Southern Quakers came together to rebuild the Southern Quaker area in North Carolina. The primary result that the American Civil War teaches scholars is that everyone lost. The North may have won the war, but they too were affected by the war. The people living in the Midwestern part of America were affected too because

⁶⁹¹ The Southern people at the end of the American Civil War rejection of monocausation in which they believed the only thing that caused the collapse of the South was due ill prepared military strategy (Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, William N. Still Jr. *Why The South Lost the Civil War*. University of Georgia Press.1984. 4.

⁶⁹² David Donald, "Historians and the Civil War." Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, William N. Still Jr. *Why The South Lost the Civil War*. University of Georgia Press.1984. 5.

they had vast numbers of Southern people, including significant portion being Southern Quakers, were fleeing the South. During the slavery period, the Midwestern people would have seen many black people fleeing into the Free states and into Canada too. Francis T. King and The Association became the foundation of a new North Carolina, a new Quaker community, a new non-Quaker, community, and new black communities. Creating these communities at home stopped the migration of other states.

Multiple scholars, such as Eric Foner, Katharine Whittemore, and Howard K. Beale, examine the research of William A. Dunning and his students at Columbia University. Eric Foner, while researching the topic “Why Reconstruction Matters”, explores the work of William A. Dunning and his students at Columbia University. This group of college students analyzed a famous 1915 film, “Birth of A Nation”⁶⁹³ and the book “The Tragic Era, The Revolution After Lincoln” by Claude Bowers, which was a best-seller in 1929.⁶⁹⁴ William A. Dunning and the Columbia University students concluded that both works created an intellectual foundation for the setup of segregation and black disenfranchisement, which followed Reconstruction. Dunning and the Columbia students also noted that efforts to restore the rights of blacks living in the South led to a repeat of the alleged horrors of Reconstruction.⁶⁹⁵

⁶⁹³ USA. 1915. *The Birth of a Nation*. VHS. Directed by D.W. Griffith (Southern whites that supported the new government were called “scalawag,” (Eric Foner. “Why Reconstruction Matters.” *The New York Times*, March 28, 2015, sec. SR1, p. SR1). 9 August 2015).

⁶⁹⁴ Claude G. Bowers, *The Tragic Era*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929. (Southern whites that supported the new government were called “scalawag,” (Eric Foner. “Why Reconstruction Matters.” *The New York Times*, March 28, 2015, sec. SR1, p. SR1). 9 August 2015).

⁶⁹⁵ The repeated of the alleged horrors of Reconstruction means that the newly freed black slaves were free by law, but during the reconstruction they had to resort back to working in the same lands that they were once enslaved to work on. Plus, new laws such as the Black Codes and sharecropping created new forms of slavery during the reconstruction era (Southern whites that supported the new government were called “scalawag,” (Eric Foner. “Why Reconstruction Matters.” *The New York Times*, March 28, 2015, sec. SR1, p. SR1). 9 August 2015, Paula S. Rothenberg. *Race, Class, Gender in United States: An Integrated Study*. “Black Codes.” W.E.B. DuBois. New York: Worth Publishers, 2004. 475, and Dan Moore Sr., Michele Mitchell. *Black Codes In Georgia*. “Overview.”

American historians have rejected the notion that Reconstruction was “tragic,”⁶⁹⁶ but because Reconstruction was attempted and was not fully embraced to create all things equal for all groups; it failed.⁶⁹⁷

Katharine Whittemore in her research⁶⁹⁸ on the American Reconstruction period explains the complexity that scholars faced in the 1940s. Whittemore states that scholars during the 1940s, in general, condemned the American Reconstruction period as “a grotesque experiment.”⁶⁹⁹ Whittemore goes on to state the primary reason many scholars had this view is because of the work William Archibald Dunning, and his students work from Columbia University.⁷⁰⁰

Whittemore's research led her into the 1960s when scholars were taking a fresh look at the American Reconstruction period. This was during the American Civil Rights Movement which is referred to in American history as the “America’s Second Reconstruction.”⁷⁰¹ Whittemore believes that the social unrest forced scholars to take another look at the original Reconstruction period.⁷⁰²

Atlanta: The APEX Museum. 2006. x, Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War. "Free Labour."* Section 3. HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 1995. 1).

⁶⁹⁶ Southern whites that supported the new government were called “scalawag,” (Eric Foner. "Why Reconstruction Matters." *The New York Times*, March 28, 2015, sec. SR1, p. SR1). 9 August 2015.

⁶⁹⁷ Southern whites that supported the new government were called “scalawag,” (Eric Foner. "Why Reconstruction Matters." *The New York Times*, March 28, 2015, sec. SR1, p. SR1). 9 August 2015.

⁶⁹⁸ Katharine Whittemore. "Seven Books on Reconstruction." *Globe Correspondent* (April 25, 2015).

⁶⁹⁹ “A grotesque experiment” is quoted by Dray a federal overreaching (Katharine Whittemore. "Seven Books on Reconstruction." *Globe Correspondent* (April 25, 2015).

⁷⁰⁰ Whittemore is referring to Dunning and his students work, “Birth of A Nation”, which dominated the 1940s views of the American Reconstruction (Katharine Whittemore. "Seven Books on Reconstruction." *Globe Correspondent* (April 25, 2015).

⁷⁰¹ Whittemore is referring to Dunning and his students work, “Birth of A Nation”, which dominated the 1940s views of the American Reconstruction (Katharine Whittemore. "Seven Books on Reconstruction." *Globe Correspondent* (April 25, 2015).

⁷⁰² Katharine Whittemore. "Seven Books on Reconstruction." *Globe Correspondent* (April 25, 2015).

Howard K. Beale in his article,⁷⁰³ claims William A. Dunning, his students at Columbia University, and James Ford Rhodes,⁷⁰⁴ all believed that the South was affected by the political and economic motives behind Radicalism.

Though Beale does, however, see that Rhodes gives credit to the President's faults to "weakness rather than to weakness."⁷⁰⁵ On the other hand, Rhodes accepts the old image of Andrew Johnson as he was viewed during the American Reconstruction. He still placed blame on Johnson for the disasters during Reconstruction that took over all over the South. Although history shows, that Andrew Johnson had many faults during this period, he was still redeemed and voted back into the U.S. Senate (1875).⁷⁰⁶

When Beale looks at Dunning and his students' assessments of the Reconstruction period, he claims they have significantly influenced the general American population, but left a mistaken view of what took place during the American Reconstruction period. Beale suggested it was time for the younger generation of historians to look at this crucial time in American history and shed new light on the American Reconstruction period.⁷⁰⁷

⁷⁰³ Howard K. Beale, "On Rewriting Reconstruction History." *The American Historical Review* 45, no. 4 (July 1940): 807. Accessed 10 August 2015.

⁷⁰⁴ James Ford Rhodes (1848-1927) was an American industrialist and historian ("James Ford Rhodes." *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

⁷⁰⁵ The quote "weakness rather than to weakness," that Beale uses when describing President Andrew Johnson's faults, was that the President was a weak candidate and ill prepared to run the United States of America during the American Reconstruction period. Rather than the President became weakened by the strain of trying to rebuild the nation post-American Civil War and became ill prepared to rebuild and oversee a new unified nation (Howard K. Beale, "On Rewriting Reconstruction History." *The American Historical Review* 45, no. 4 (July 1940): 807, Eric Foner and Olivia Mahoney. *America's Reconstruction People and Politics After the Civil War*. "Introduction." HarperCollins Publishers, Inc. 1995. 1).

⁷⁰⁶ United States Senate. "Andrew Johnson, 17th President (1865)."

⁷⁰⁷ Howard K. Beale. "On Rewriting Reconstruction History." *The American Historical Review* 45, no. 4 (July 1940): 808.

Beale believed that historians should not demonize the work, Abraham Lincoln and his successor Andrew Johnson did during the American Reconstruction period. Beale also acknowledged that both Lincoln and Johnson (more so Johnson) made mistakes while serving, but further examination proves that both men had to make hard decisions. Andrew Johnson battled with Congress numerous times on how Reconstruction should be handled, which made him unpopular with Congress, and with the American population.

Douglas R. Egerton examines how the national government impacted the local government system such as in Charleston. The political stage was about to erupt, with Garrison⁷⁰⁸ as a major player with the planning of a political rally, which was designed to bring Carolina's freedmen into the Republican fold.⁷⁰⁹ A problem soon arose over the fraying black unity in government, due to not coming to cohesive agreements over political views. These different political views amongst the black population caused political difficulties over the next decade.⁷¹⁰

That fact that the newly freed blacks did not become a cohesive political force in both the South and North made reconstruction more difficult because there were many different ideas on how the South should be rebuilt. Most of the Southern non-Quaker whites became aware of their failure to create what was once called a "slave republic" in *Charleston Mercury*, and many Southern non-Quakers prepared themselves to accept whatever terms the government was going to demand from them on how to rebuild the South. Another issue the Southern society had to deal

⁷⁰⁸ William Lloyd Garrison was the founder of the Garrisonians in 1860 (James M. McPherson. *The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists And Negro In The Civil War And Reconstruction*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992. 3.)

⁷⁰⁹ Douglas R. Egerton. *The Wars of Reconstruction The Brief, Violent History Of America's Most Progressive Era*. New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2014. 14.

⁷¹⁰ Douglas R. Egerton. *The Wars of Reconstruction The Brief, Violent History Of America's Most Progressive Era*. New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2014. 16.

with was that there were very few Southern non-Quakers and Blacks prepared to forgive; this made the first moment of Reconstruction critical.⁷¹¹

A man named Wendell Phillips had his idea of how reconstruction would work. In December 1861,⁷¹² Wendell Phillips believed it would only be through emancipation that the irrepressible conflict over slavery would end and that it would also help bind the Union together with hooks of steel.⁷¹³ Wendell Phillips continued by saying that at one time the North supported slavery and how much he hated the Union. He claimed he hated the Union because at one time the people in the Union States told lies in the pulpit and created mobs in the streets. Then the Union people made the white men hypocrites and the black men slaves. This meant that the Northern people were also prospering as a result of slavery. However, he goes on and says that he sees that one cannot have a union without also meaning justice.⁷¹⁴

Philip Dray, author and historian,⁷¹⁵ he examines the multi-layer changes that took place when the American Civil War was over and how quickly the American Reconstruction period happened. He examines the moment blacks were allowed to vote and run for office and how enthusiastic they were for the opportunity. Blacks were quickly winning elections and taking Congress by storm. Dray believed that all these changes within the government were a

⁷¹¹ Douglas R. Egerton. *The Wars of Reconstruction The Brief, Violent History Of America's Most Progressive Era*. New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2014. 16.

⁷¹²James M. McPherson. *The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists And Negro In The Civil War And Reconstruction*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992. 99.

⁷¹³ James M. McPherson. *The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists And Negro In The Civil War And Reconstruction*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992. 99.

⁷¹⁴ Wendell Phillips. "Secession And The Coming Of War." James M. McPherson. *The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists And Negro In The Civil War And Reconstruction*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992. 34.

⁷¹⁵ Philip Dray. *Capitol Men: The Epic Story of Reconstruction Through the Lives of the First Black Congressmen*. New York: Mariner, 2010. X.

significant step forward, but also a step back given the conflicts that happened within the American government. The American government had never viewed blacks as equal let alone have blacks vote and take political office.⁷¹⁶

Dray also surmises that the beginning of American Reconstruction was done in haste. President Lincoln was the principle image of freedom to the Union North for freeing the blacks. His assassination was a tremendous misfortune and that freeing the slave may not continue after his death.⁷¹⁷ Compounding the issue the Southern white non-Quaker people were still upset about losing the war and losing free labor.⁷¹⁸

Wendell Phillips gave many speeches about the faults of Abraham Lincoln. These speeches took place in October 1864.⁷¹⁹ His main audiences were hostile Bostonians and New Yorkers. A large number of Abolitionists regretted the speeches that Wendell Phillips made because the Abolitionists believed that Wendell Phillips sacrificed some of the influence and prestige he had gained since the outbreak of the American Civil War.⁷²⁰

Scholars can learn a lot from looking at Wendell Phillips' speeches. He shows scholars that there were multiple viewpoints during the American Reconstruction period. He directed his

⁷¹⁶ Philip Dray. *Capitol Men: The Epic Story of Reconstruction Through the Lives of the First Black Congressmen*. New York: Mariner, 2010. XI-XII.

⁷¹⁷ Philip Dray. *Capitol Men: The Epic Story of Reconstruction Through the Lives of the First Black Congressmen*. New York: Mariner, 2010. IX.

⁷¹⁸ Philip Dray, *Capitol Men: The Epic Story of Reconstruction Through the Lives of the First Black Congressmen*. New York: Mariner, 2010. IX.

⁷¹⁹ James M. McPherson. *The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists And Negro In The Civil War And Reconstruction*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992. 285.

⁷²⁰ *Liberator*, Oct. 28, 1864; *Commonwealth*, Oct. 29, 1864; W.L. Garrison, Jr., to Martha Wright, Oct. 23, Nov. 13, 1864, Samuel J. May to W.L. Garrison, Jr., Oct. 26, 1864, Garrison Papers, W. P. Garrison to W.L. Garrison, Oct. 27, 1864, W.P. Garrison Papers, HU. (James M. McPherson. *The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists And Negro In The Civil War And Reconstruction*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992. 285).

attention on Abraham Lincoln's faults. Many American studies scholars need to remember all the major changes that America was going through when Lincoln was president. Maybe if Lincoln had not been assassinated, he would have proven to be an even better president, overshadowing both Andrew Johnson and Ulysses S. Grant. Yet, if Lincoln would not have been assassinated during this term as president Andrew Johnson would never have been president. Plus, scholars like Dunning and his students quickly realized that Johnson's racist tendencies affected his choices.

William J. Barber III believed that the Reconstruction of America has never entirely stopped. He breaks down his views into separate reconstruction periods that he believed has taken place in America. The first reconstruction happened right after the American Slavery period. It was during this first reconstruction that both white farmers in the South and the Northern allies joined together to build a nation that had been torn apart by the American Civil War.⁷²¹

Barber III suggests that the second reconstruction of America began in 1954.⁷²² It was this stage of reconstruction that people of many different religions and races came together to push for an end of segregation. This time the primary focal point ended the case of *Brown v. Board of Education*.⁷²³ The third reconstruction that Barber III speaks about is the problem America faces today, in which the nation has rebirthed a new form of racism. He believes the time has come for us as a people to reassemble and break down the walls of segregation once again. The relevance of a third reconstruction is that as societal racism is still in existence, it is up to the current

⁷²¹ William J. Barber III. "The Third Reconstruction." *Friends Journal* (September 1, 2016) 30-33.

⁷²² The Jim Crow Laws started in (1890-1965). This law was a racial segregation where blacks and whites could not be together in any way, e.g. white children and black children could not play together. White people and black people could not work at the same places (*The Truth About Jim Crow*. Alexandria: "Backlash: the Beginning of Jim Crow" The American Civil Right Union, 2014. 6).

⁷²³ On 31 May 1955 desegregation of the public schools started. This is after a case known as *Brown V. Board of Education* and *Brown V. Board of Education II* took place (1954-1955). *Brown V. Board of Education* was regarding the issue of segregation in public schools 4).

generation to fix the racism problem and create equality for all. He goes on and states that what America has started doing is just like the first two reconstructions, the nation's people have joined together again to push back at how American society has not fully come to terms with racism. America is going through the third reconstruction to make the American society an equal place for all to live.⁷²⁴

The problem that arises in believing that America has never fully achieved reconstruction is that they have experienced two previous reconstructions and are undergoing another. This begs the question, have Americans learned anything from the first two? Did the way the American ancestors rebuild the nation help Americans today or has America been forced into a third reconstruction due to the fact the first two were failed attempts? Some scholars believe the first reconstruction was dead by 1870 as Pamela Brandwein - expresses within her book, *Rethinking the Judicial Settlement of Reconstruction*.⁷²⁵

Scholars have failed to mention vital players and a community that helped establish a new North Carolina extending into the entire South. The chief players that came from the North and were part of the Quaker community included the Baltimore Friends, such as Francis T. King and The Baltimore Association to Advise and Assist the Southern Friends. Combining his financial means and organizational skills, he achieved his goal of rebuilding North Carolina and the communities left after the American Civil War.

⁷²⁴William J. Barber III. "The Third Reconstruction." *Friends Journal* (September 1, 2016). 30-33.

⁷²⁵ Pamela Brandwein. *Rethinking the Judicial Settlement of Reconstruction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. 138.

Damion Hickey and Rufus Jones state that The Association was only created long enough to help both the Quakers and white non-Quaker communities. Hickey's work reads as if he is practically producing a pamphlet of King focusing on Quakers, but he omits their wider contributions to the non-Quaker whites and black communities and even the creation of Normal schools. Even Jones does not look at the labor of The Associations creating Normal schools. Even missing one aspect of the job that King and The Associations did reduces the significance and King's spectacular influence on rebuilding and establishing Quaker, non-Quaker and black communities.

Hickey and Jones are prime examples of how King has gotten lost in both Quaker and American history. If scholars had done more in-depth research on King's complete efforts, they would come to the same conclusion I have within my research. They would have realized that Francis T. King was the dominant historical figure who orchestrated the rebuilding of both the Quaker and white non-Quaker groups with his key focus being on rebuilding the educational system within North Carolina.

Their facts are supported by primary documents such as *Francis Thompson King His Life and Works* and *A Short Account of The Life of Francis T. King, Of Baltimore, MD. Being A Memorial Prepared by Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, written in 1892*,⁷²⁶ but stop with Quaker research. Individuals living at the time such as, Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, her father Dr. Nereus Mendenhall, and M. Carey Thomas, who knew Francis T. King personally, s reiterate this positive view of King's work in North Carolina and Maryland.

⁷²⁶ The primary documents can be founded in the Historical Collection at Guilford College, located in Greensboro, Guilford County, North Carolina.

Granted, Hickey and Jones were only researching the Quaker society during the American Reconstruction period, not mixing the large white non-Quaker public and Quaker group. No one person has thoroughly tried to link the white non-Quaker and Quaker community together during this same period. Quaker scholars' studies and American scholars' studies have not entirely connected the Quaker population and the white non-Quaker public. Even scholars who examine African American history have not connected the Quaker people and white non-Quaker body. Most African American historical scholars only focus on the black groups but do not realize how much the Quaker, the white non-Quaker, and the black people are interlinked working together. All groups compliment one another rebuilding the South and making it stronger, especially during the American Reconstruction period.

While I am critical of Hickey's and Jones' lack of research on King, American studies scholars and other scholars, in general, cannot be left out either. Scholars such as Eric Foner, James J. Brown, and a multitude of others have examined the American Reconstruction period and have entirely overlooked the works of the Quaker community. Instead, they have focused their attention on single groups and not the big picture. They should have focused on the initiators of the reconstruction, the North Carolina Quakers working in tandem with Francis T. King, The Association, numerous of other Northern Quaker communities, and even the British Quakers, who sent aid to Friends in North Carolina.

The turning point and driving force that initiated King's desire to assist North Carolina began with his private conversation with President Lincoln and Vice-President Stanton. King explained the situation that the Quakers and non-Quakers in North Carolina were experiencing during the American Civil War. All the people living in North Carolina were starving because the Civil War had destroyed the agricultural system. The foundations of the South were on the brink

of collapse: the abolishment of slavery had taken place, blacks were left homeless, and the former masters were furious because they had just lost their labor force. North Carolina and her people were in dire need of help. At this point, Francis T. King stepped in and rebuilt the state and pulled the Quaker community out of ruins. King put the Quaker society back together and gave all North Carolina citizens new agricultural and educational systems to help the new generations grow and be able to successfully keep the state of North Carolina progressing.

Scholars such as Nicholas Marshall, argue that for scholars to get a fuller picture of the events before, during, and after the American Reconstruction with the focal point being North Carolina that scholars need to research the people, who were living during this time.⁷²⁷ Additionally, the mass death of soldiers during the American Civil War impacted the rebuilding of communities as whole families being torn apart. Marshall gears his attention on the Henry family, looking practically at Cornelia Smith Henry, who was the wife of William Henry. It is in her journals that Marshall believed by her accounts that scholars today can get an in-depth understanding of the people in, North Carolina and the South.⁷²⁸

The reason that examination of Francis T. King's labors is so critical during the Reconstruction period is that it shows the power of one person to initiate and implement change. King began with his group, the Quaker community. Next, King spread his efforts out into the broader white non-Quaker and the newly freed black population.

Francis T. King's shows scholars that if one has the drive and passion, they can achieve and initiate great change. Within this discussion, I have given sufficient evidence on how King's

⁷²⁷ Nicholas Marshall. "The Great Exaggeration Death and the Civil War." *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 4, no. 1 (2014): edited by Blair A. William. 8-10.

⁷²⁸ Nicholas Marshall. "The Great Exaggeration Death and the Civil War." *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 4, no. 1 (2014): edited by Blair A. William. 8-10.

personality attracted both Quakers and non-Quakers, and helped him create The Baltimore Association. He also did much traveling around to different Meetings in the South, listened to the needs of the people, took them to President, and expressed his ideas on how the South - specifically North Carolina, had great potential to be rebuilt into an even stronger state after the American Civil War. In addition, King's wealth helped him start a solid foundation to assist the Southern Quakers and white non-Quaker community, who were now in dire need of the essential resources to survive and introducing crop rotation to increase land harvest and quickly and feed the masses.

King had the drive that makes him a very influential character in American history. He was so influential and such an essential factor that he is the reason the North Carolina Quakers stayed in the state and didn't vacate the area for Northern and Midwestern states. He is the reason New Garden Boarding School did not collapse safeguarding a good Quaker education. Then it was his idea after he had helped stabilize the communities, that he fully believed the Southern Quakers were ready to take the next big step, to transition the boarding school to a college, Guilford College.

King and his colleagues are the reason that Quakers, non-Quakers, and blacks got to have a formal education. Due to the fact, that they rebuilt the public school system in North Carolina and helped establish Normal School for educating black teacher too.

Scholars examining American Reconstruction do not realize that if it were not for King's efforts, there would not have been the creation of a steadfast North Carolina or South. If scholars dismiss entirely the works that King and his colleagues of The Association did for the Southern Quakers, the non-Quakers, and the blacks, then they are missing a critical part of the

Reconstruction period, which interconnects all the communities into a stronger South; in turn, creating a stronger nation.

Within my research, I can fully support the claim that the Quaker society was a significant force in the reconstruction of their society, the white non-Quaker, and the black population. Damion Hickey's, Thomas Hamm's, and Rufus Jones' research supports my argument that the Northern Quakers, Francis T. King and other Northern Friends combined were the driving force on rebuilding North Carolina's communities from the Quakers, non-Quakers, and blacks. The dissertation argues that King's work is undervalued and under-represented in previous scholarship.

Francis T. King was a profoundly forwarder thinker. His journey to help others started as a young man by buying and freeing slaves. His Inward Light guided him to personally take the initiative to present the Quaker concerns and conditions in North Carolina to President Lincoln.

Francis T. King had the ability to understand the conditions and evaluate what was going on in North Carolina during the Reconstruction. He saw people from every community, Quaker, non-Quaker, and black that needed help. He systematically created a plan to aid the people of North Carolina starting with his community, the Quakers. His toils stopped the migration of Quakers to the North and Midwest. If not for his efforts the result may have been that all Quakers would have relocated leaving the region without a Quaker presence.

King understood education was the foundation of a stronger South because the war had immobilized a whole generation's progress and education. Nevertheless, North Carolinian's immediate needs had to be met first. Recognizing this, King formed The Baltimore Association to Advise and Assist Friends in the Southern States and started his crusade to gather aid from the Northern, Midwestern, and British Friends. His concern was so great that he personally brought the aid to these war ravaged people. In addition, King and his colleagues helped to establish a new

agriculture system; crop rotation ensuring future ability to produce food and goods. When it came to rebuilding an educational system King wanted to create a cohesive education for all children in North Carolina. However, external conflict in the South stopped King's progression forcing him to have to create separate educational systems for whites and blacks.

It took one man, Francis T. King, comprehending that a large group of people needed immediate assistance and long lasting solutions, to instigate change. King's enlightened and forward thinking provided aid and educated students. Additionally, he founded advanced schools and opportunities for higher education such as the Normal Schools to educate teachers and Guilford College from the New Garden Boarding School. I have proven that Francis King changed Quaker, non-Quaker, and African American history and should be given more substantial recognition in historic scholarship, not just a footnote.

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